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TALVI'S

HISTORY OF THE COLONIZATION

OF

A M E R I C A.

EDITED BY

WILLIAM HAZLITT, ESQ.

BARRISTER-AT-LAW.

"Out of small beginnings great things have arisen . . . and as one small candle may light a thousand, so the light here kindled hath shone to many."—*Governor Bradford's Journal*.

IN TWO VOLUMES.—VOL. I.

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1851.

TO

BENJAMIN HAWES, ESQ., M.P.,

ONE OF HER MAJESTY'S UNDER SECRETARIES OF STATE

FOR THE COLONIAL DEPARTMENT,

AS A TRIBUTE OF RESPECT FOR HIS PUBLIC CHARACTER,

AND GRATITUDE FOR MUCH PERSONAL KINDNESS,

This Work

IS INSCRIBED, BY

THE EDITOR.

P R E F A C E.

THAT part of American history which I here present to my countrymen has not as yet been given by any German sufficiently in detail. Edeling is, so far as I know, the only German who has attempted it. But in his time many of the principal sources of information, a knowledge of which alone could impart a just idea of the then existing state of things, had not yet been brought to light; nay, many parts of the history of New England lay buried in complete obscurity; as, for instance, the first periods of the colonization of Providence and Rhode Island. The same might be said of such English historians of America as were accessible in Germany, Neal, Oldmixon, Robertson, &c. I therefore thought, though conscious my powers were inferior to the task, yet aware I was favourably situated with regard to sources of information, that I should be undertaking no useless labour in offering to the world a small portion of the history of a country, which is evidently tending towards a most important part in the great drama of the world.

Even in the United States an interest in the history of the fatherland is new. Throughout the whole of the

eighteenth century, the spirit of historical research slumbered here as everywhere else. Valuable documents lay buried in dust, heaped up in public archives or private libraries, in undisturbed quiet. Undeciphered MSS. served for packing with; inestimable copies of original works were used up for waste paper, and the spirit of investigation and collection of a whole century seemed concentrated in a few individuals; as, for instance, Thomas Prince, preacher at the Old South Church, Boston, who, with an industry and perseverance foreign to our time, unremittingly searched, accumulated, and, in his manner, prepared; so that his instructive work, "Chronological History of New England," which is unfortunately only continued up to the year 1663, helps us over the most obscure portions in the history of this country. A few other able men, as Callender, Backus, and especially Hutchinson, made good use of their materials. But the glory of having thrown light on the darkness which still overspread the earlier period, belongs principally to the last ten years of the foregoing century, and to the Historical Society of Massachusetts, especially a few distinguished members of it. They have been gloriously followed by the Historical Societies of Rhode Island, New York, New Hampshire, and others; and in every direction doughty labourers are at work, clearing away the rubbish which here and there interrupts the linking together of these contributions.

The principal sources of the historical origin of the United States, in addition to the government and church archives of the time, are the diaries kept by some of the

principal men among the first settlers ; as also the reports of the eyewitnesses, and partners in the early plantings. I know of no other period of history which is so rich in them, for the actors there felt that they were sowing for future ages.

At the head of these stand :

1. The diary of William Bradford, Governor of New Plymouth ; which has unfortunately only been handed down to us in fragments. Nathaniel Morton, nephew of Bradford, deposited in the church register of Plymouth an important part of this, the identity of which, with the original work of Bradford, was first discovered and confirmed in Boston, by Mr. A. Young. Besides this, Morton employed the historical work of his uncle, frequently word for word, in his "New England's Memorial," to which we shall afterwards refer. Hutchinson also, and, still more, Prince, in whose hands the MS. was, made use of, and gave out, large extracts from it. The valuable library of the latter was, at his death, preserved in the church in which he preached. During the period of the revolutionary wars, when the British troops occupied this church as a barrack, this MS., together with several others, disappeared, and is probably lost to us for ever. Besides this, many instructive papers, and sundry smaller writings of this author, which throw a light over many points, have descended to posterity.

2. The "New England's Memorial," above referred to ; which was first printed in 1699, at the expense of the government of Plymouth. This little book, in which interesting facts are arranged without being commented

on, often not without confusion, first obtained its true value through the rich remarks and additions which Mr. John Davis appended to the fifth edition, in the year 1826.

3. Several small writings of Edward Winslow, one of the leading men among the early settlers; together with the memoirs of his companions, the titles of which are given at full length in the text of the present work.

4. John Winthrop's (first governor of Massachusetts) "History of New England;" perhaps the most important of all works, relating to the colonization of New England. Till 1790, it remained in MS. in the hands of his descendants. Cotton Mather and Hubbard used it; nay, the latter copied part of it off word for word, without naming the source whence he wrote. Hubbard was one of Hutchinson's chief authorities, without his appearing to know whence the knowledge of the other came. Prince knew and made use of the precious MSS., so far as it aided the chronological arrangement of his work. The greater part of it, the History of Massachusetts, up to the year 1644, was first given to the world upwards of fifty years after, under the title of "a Journal of the Transactions and Occurrences in the Settlements of Massachusetts, &c., Hartford, 1790;" the difficult hand-writing having, however, been only imperfectly deciphered. The concluding part of this work did not turn up before 1816, and nine years after, was published by James Savage of Boston, together with the part already known, revised anew and with the greatest care, and accompanied by valuable explanations.

This valuable work, which had now fallen into the right hands, received the title of "The History of New England, &c., by John Winthrop," which the author seems to have intended for it, although written in the form of a diary. It has served me, in the present work, as my principal guide, between the years 1630 and 1649.

5. A Report on the principal settlement in Massachusetts, in 1630, by Vice-Governor Thomas Dudley; in a historical letter to the Countess of Lincoln, patroness of the colonists.

6. Edward Johnson's history of New England, which appeared in London, entitled, according to the taste of that day, "Wonder-working Providence of Zion's Saviour, &c." Being the work of an eye witness and participator, it is of sufficient importance to reward the trouble of wading through the mass of insipid verbosity in which a foolish piety has clothed it. Four years afterwards Ferdinand Gorges published it as a writing of his grandfather, Sir Ferdinando, under the title of "America Painted to Life, a true history." London, 1658.

7. Numerous smaller writings and letters, partly relating to particular events, partly the impressions and opinions with regard to the whole, taken up by settlers and travellers; all being coeval, and some participators; such as the relations given by Higginson, Wood, Welde, Lechford, Josselyn, &c. The titles are quoted in their place in the text. To these belong in part the documents which the Rev. Alexander Young, of Boston,

has given to the world in a valuable collection, entitled, "Chronicles of the First Planters of the Colony of Massachusetts, from 1623 to 1636." Unfortunately this work did not appear till after my MS. had been sent to the press;* and accordingly it was impossible for me to avail myself of it to any extent.

8. Sir Ferdinando Gorges' "Brief Narrative of the Original Undertakings, and the Advancement of the Plantations, &c." London, 1658. The author, one of the principal adventurers in the scheme of colonizing New England, was himself never in America; but as one of the first founders and conductors of the Society of Plymouth, he knew better than many others how to give us information of the events in England which bore on this topic.

9. The reports on the Pequodde war by Mason, Underhill, Gardiner and Vincent; coeval actors in the bloody tragedy.

10. The reports of the first founders; as Clark, Gordon, &c., on the Settlements in Providence and Rhode Island, together with numerous letters and smaller writings by Roger Williams and other contemporaries; which will be introduced in their proper place.

11. Respecting the earliest plantings in Connecticut, there is unfortunately scarcely a single circumstantial contemporaneous report. Notwithstanding this, the government and the church archives, have been most conscientiously worked up by some modern writers. The

* It was written in New York, and printed in Leipzig.—H. M.

history of no one colony has been so craftily and systematically misrepresented to posterity, as that of Connecticut; for during the exacerbation and bitterness of feeling in the revolutionary period, Samuel A. Peters, one of the degenerate sons of Connecticut, in a fabulous work called a "General History of Connecticut," London, 1781, enveloped in a mesh of lies, and defamed with venomous slander, the history of its earlier days.

Nothing can be more characteristic of the feeling at that time prevalent in England towards America, than the fact, that this contemptible and slanderous work survived, in the following year, a second edition.

These conclude the historical documents of the first generation. The historians of the second and third, Hubbard, the Mathers, Church, Miles, &c., had access to works which are now lost, or they reported only contemporaneous events; but all were nearly enough allied to the first period of its rise, and had drawn their vital breath from that source. But we remark in them a much weaker spirit, a striking absence of opinion, and yet they are the only sources to which English historians had access. Neal's history of New England is little more than a working up of Cotton Mather's, but in a richer style and nobler strain. Among the English writers on New England, Chalmers is the only one to be employed as authority. In his political annals a large amount of weighty documents is to be found, for the archives of the Colonial Office, in London, were open to him.

The present work was nearly completed, when I learnt

that a German translation of Bancroft's History of the United States had appeared, which might probably make this work seem superfluous to some. Nevertheless, that valuable work (Bancroft's) comprises a much greater space of time, and a much more extended subject; and again while we must admire in it the elevated views of a decided patriot, I believe that I also have a claim upon the sympathies of my countrymen, inasmuch as I look upon the early days of New England with love, certainly, but as a German.

And thus may my book make its way to the libraries of Germany, over the mighty ocean that rolls between the hemispheres; and if in some of the first parts I may be blamed for having allowed myself to be carried away by my love for the subject, as has often enough occurred to me, and have supposed in my readers a degree of interest for the subject, which only a local knowledge or native partiality can give, I will screen myself under the excuse offered by Governor Dudley in similar circumstances. "Little commonwealths can only bring forth little matters, but the thinker must not disdain to notice them on that account; for, as in physical, so also in political, bodies, small things are as remarkable as greater ones in those more completely developed."

New York, May 27, 1846.

CONTENTS OF VOL. I.

CHAPTER I.

	PAGE
Discovery of, and first visits to, New England	1

CHAPTER II.

The Puritans	18
------------------------	----

CHAPTER III.

Conformity enforced. Separation from the State Church	30
---	----

CHAPTER IV.

Early History of the first Settlers in New England; from 1602 to 1620	60
--	----

CHAPTER V.

Arrival and Treaty of the Settlers. Founding of New Plymouth. First Intercourse with the Natives; 1620 to 1621	86
--	----

CHAPTER VI.

Second Colony. Disputes with the Indians. Hunger and other Ills. From 1622 to 1624	115
---	-----

CHAPTER VII.

Growth and Improvement. Better state of matters. From 1624 to 1627	138
---	-----

	PAGE
CHAPTER VIII.	
First Beginnings of the Colony of Massachusetts. From 1624 to 1630	157
CHAPTER IX.	
Proceedings of the Council of New England. Condition of the Colony of Plymouth	180
CHAPTER X.	
Colony of Massachusetts. First Proceedings from 1630 to 1633	197
CHAPTER XI.	
Church affairs. Development of the Constitution. Administration of Justice. From 1630 to 1635	223
CHAPTER XII.	
Extension and Growth. Religious character of the Colony. Roger Williams. Antinomistic Schism. From 1633 to 1640	249
CHAPTER XIII.	
Founding of Connecticut. War with the Indians. New-haven begun. — to 1640	291
CHAPTER XIV.	
Dangers from England. Internal affairs. Customs	318
CHAPTER XV.	
Pause in Immigration. Book of Laws, and method of administering Justice. Development of the Constitution. 1640 to 1646	344

HISTORY

OF THE

COLONIZATION OF AMERICA.

CHAPTER I.

DISCOVERY OF, AND EARLIEST VISITS TO AMERICA.

No state in the world can boast of such a purely moral basis as those free states of North America known under the name of New England. Thirst after fame, passion for conquest, and a noble love of independence have founded empires; ambition and avarice have discovered and conquered new regions; but none of those motives, whatever great things they may have produced on other occasions, had any share in the resolve of the handful of heroic spirited men who exchanged their father land for a wilderness, in order to build to the Lord a temple, in which alone they could worship him according to the dictates of their conscience, and with the only forms they deemed acceptable to him. As, in their belief, the exterior and interior of a christian were closely interwoven, so was this temple at the same time the basis of their civic existence, and under their creative hands arose a building, within the circle of whose strong walls the rights of man appeared for the first time in

the place of the rights of the state; freedom took the place of immunity; and equality that of lordship and bondage. "From small beginnings," says their last historian very correctly, "great things have arisen, and as a small candle can light a thousand, so has the candle which we lighted here shone on many." The political maxims on which the earliest settlers in New England proceeded, have gradually spread, and though the refreshing west wind, when first it reached Europe, broke loose in a devastating form, which hurled to the ground many a venerable pile, yet it for ever cleared the air of the pestilential vapours arising from those eternal maladies which, under the name of ancient rights and usages, were permitted for ages. The history of these beginnings must therefore be of the highest interest to Europeans.

The splendid results of the voyages of the Spaniards and Portuguese began at an early period to awaken the jealousy of the French and English. The latter could, with some justice, dispute with the Spaniards the discovery of the New World; for John and Sebastian Cabot, who were in the service of Henry VII., touched on the continent of America more than a year before Columbus saw it, and again two years later, before Amerigo Vespucci had given it a name. But the icy coast of Labrador where they landed, and which, as well as the island near it (which alone retains the name), they called Newfoundland, were not calculated to tempt men to any plans of conquest, much less of colonization. Moreover, the great aim of their undertakings was the north-west passage, which the younger Cabot, twenty years later, thought he had discovered in

the bay called a century later Hudson's Bay. More than a hundred years elapsed before any claim was founded on Cabot's discovery. The Portuguese Cortereal swept along the North American coast, and carried off the unhappy inhabitants as slaves. Spaniards discovered, conquered, and depopulated Florida, and pushed forward as far as Georgia, Arkansas, and Missouri, long before any one in England thought of such a thing as a settlement in North America.

In this matter, however, the English were forestalled most actively of all by the French. A very few years after the discovery of Newfoundland, we find mariners from Normandy and Brittany snugly ensconced there, and a great many fishing stations in regular connexion with the merchants of the north coast of France. It was enough for Francis I. to be able to vie with his great rival Charles V., to stimulate him also to enterprises beyond the sea. Verrazzani, in the service of the French monarch, entered several of the best known havens of the present United States, and landed in North Carolina, where the hospitality and friendliness of the natives were insufficient to protect them from the rude desire for booty of the strangers, who tore a child from its mother and carried it off, in order to gratify the frivolous curiosity of their own country. Verrazzani's report of this journey is the oldest existing document relative to the coasts of the United States, and his name seemed to give to France a sort of priority of claim. He also named the whole coast which was discovered, New France. But the then condition of the French monarchy admitted of no plans of conquest; French subjects continued in the mean time to take possession in the

name of France of strips of land, and to plant their colours without any other nation disputing the ground with them. Their zeal, and the commercial advantages which such an undertaking promised, at last decided the court on attempting the colonization of what is now Lower Canada, whereby, at least, the site of Montreal received its name. But the whole affair foundered, owing to disputes among the leaders of the colony, and the internal troubles by which soon after France was torn; and when the newly dispatched vice-roy was, together with his suite, engulfed in the ocean, the scarcely ripened thought of a colonization of New France perished, and nearly fifty years elapsed before it was again called into life.

In the course of these fifty years occurred the first English attempt at a settlement. But, as it was isolated, and only after more than twenty years crowned by a more successful result, we will first show the part which France took in the colonization of America, when after a fifty years' pause, a new light broke in upon her under the noble minded Henry IV. The trade in furs and fish was, in the mean time, unremittingly continued. Coligni also, after an attempt to found a home in Brazil for his fellow believers had failed,* sent out in 1564, a company of Huguenots to Florida, which the Spaniards had abandoned, but to which they returned and infamously sacrificed the Huguenots to their horrible fanaticism. Both, however, were private undertakings, of which the government took no notice. But in the year 1508, the idea of creating a transmarine France had been again raised. The first attempts failed. But the

* In the year 1555, (Holmes).

perseverance of a worthy naval officer, Champlaine, who left his name to the lovely lake, the most easterly of the wonderful mirrors of water which separate the United States from Canada, and the zeal of a warm hearted Calvinist, De Monts, who wished to secure for his fellow believers an asylum against a threatening future, succeeded in overcoming all obstacles. Furnished with a patent for the principedom of Acadia, of which the imaginary boundary stretched from Montreal to Philadelphia, they took possession of what is now New Brunswick and Nova Scotia. Port Royal* and Quebec were founded; the northern shores of the Penobscot were built upon; and by the Jesuits, who followed after, the hearts of those Indians whom the swords of the conqueror could not subdue, were won alternately through the weapons of craft and christian love.

How gladly do we see women also active in the work of love! a lady, the pious wife of Guercheville, equally rich in zeal for conversion and worldly goods, contrived to obtain for herself from the government, an original letter of possession of all North America, from the St. Lawrence to Florida; and her arms, in union with the cross, were planted by her people, conducted and guided by two Jesuits.

The earlier mission thereupon transplanted the cross to an island, which had been called by Champlaine, Mount Desert, but which they, not knowing where they were, named, St. Saviour. Here they were attacked by Captain Argall, who had come hither from the fisheries at Virginia, and who regarded as a usurper

* Now called Annapolis.

every man except an Englishman, that set his foot on American ground. The colonists, victims to his insatiable cruelty, were killed or carried away prisoners to Virginia. The same year, Port Royal and all the other French settlements which lay under 46° lat., met with a like rude fate at his hands. In the place of the cross of the Jesuits he planted the arms of the king of England. This took place at a time when France and England lived in profound peace. The patent of the Virginian society certainly gave it a sort of claim upon the immense district between 34° and 45° north latitude; but that which De Monts had received from his king, and had been transferred to Madame Guercheville, stretched from 40° to 46° , and was two years older. Moreover, the right of first possession was on the side of the French, who, in the year 1604, long before any map of Virginia was ever thought of, had possessions beneath the 45^{th} . The only ground on which this barbarous violation of the rights of nations could be supported, was the discovery which took place more than a hundred years before, and had never been used. But so little value did the French government attach to these possessions, that it allowed this act to pass totally unavenged. Thereupon the king of England pushed on further, and eight years after, with his wonted cheap liberality, granted new patents for these countries.

Want of money, and multiplied occupation, with internal affairs, had hitherto prevented the English monarchs from playing in the history of discoveries and conquests the splendid part which their ambition coveted. Even Elizabeth entered but sparingly into the bold undertakings of her subjects, who were fired by the thirst

for gold and fame, which governed that age; and it was only after Martin Frobisher had brought from the coast north of Labrador, a stone, which was declared to be gold by some acute goldsmiths of London, that she decided upon taking part in a second undertaking. Then were the north-west passage and all real commercial advantages sacrificed, for a time, to a sort of mania which took its rise in the most contemptible of human passions. In our day, one laughs at the idea of finding gold and jewels among the Esquimaux. But the success of the Portuguese in India and Peru, had so closely united the idea of treasures with that of new discoveries, in the spirit of the sixteenth century, that two ages must elapse before the charm vanishes. Laden with cargoes of worthless stones and rubbish, the ships returned home. Frobisher worked like the meanest labourer to load them with a sort of yellow earth which he took for gold dust. The number of spiders was taken for a sign of the vicinity of gold. Even thirty years later, at the time of the first settlement in Virginia, this madness turned men's minds from all useful, nay from all necessary labour, and instead of felling trees and building intrenchments and habitations, the workmen grovelled half the day in the earth after gold dust and precious stones.

The unwearied zeal of the two great brothers, Sir Humphrey Gilbert* and Sir Walter Raleigh, succeeded at length in again turning men's minds towards colonization, which had slumbered since the days of Cabot.

Gilbert, in the name of his queen, took possession of Newfoundland. Raleigh, in virtue of an extensive

* Sir Humphrey Gilbert was half brother to Sir Walter Raleigh.

patent, which made him almost unrestricted suzerain, seized the finest portion of the United States, which the queen in complacent vanity, named Virginia, in honour of her vaunted virgin state. A colony which he planted in North Carolina, and which was favoured by every thing that could confer success on such an undertaking, a mild climate, a fruitful soil, friendly natives, and superfluity of resources, was ruined by the caprice and cowardice of the colonists, who would not wait for the ample and punctually dispatched supplies, but returned to England on the first opportunity. A second attempt, brought about by the same distinguished man, miscarried likewise, owing to the supplies for the colonists not having been duly sent; when these, delayed by circumstances, at length arrived, the society of unfortunate people, who had sought their safety in the wilderness, had already vanished without leaving a trace behind. The storm which shortly after burst on Raleigh's head, prevented him from doing any thing for Virginia, the cherished child of his hopes. Yet he repeatedly sent out ships, or commissioned the captains of merchant vessels to seek out the lost emigrants; but all in vain. They were never again heard of in their fatherland.

The next century, at its birth, beheld again, called into life, the thirst for discovery for which the earth seemed too small, and which has since borne such wonderful fruits. Bartholomew Goswold, a valiant seaman, ventured for the first time to take a direct road to America,* without going round by the Canary Islands

* We need not mention here the traditions of the Icelanders, according to which they 600 years previously discovered the south-east coast of Newfoundland, and named it Finland.

and the West Indies. After seven weeks, he saw land, and named it Cape Cod, on account of the numbers of cod-fish, which name it yet bears. He also discovered the neighbouring promontories and islands, and gave them names which are yet in some degree current.* He wished to have a small colony on Elizabeth's Islands, but the spirits of the adventurers sank at the hour of departure, and they returned to England.† He was followed by Gilbert and Pring, who were likewise successful, and did also what they could to awaken in England a more active interest in the colonization of Virginia. Weymouth, who was shortly after sent out by the Earl of Southampton and Lord Arundel, to discover the north-west passage, entered the mouth of the Penobscot, which he called Pentecost, to which he was probably led by the similarity of sound, it being then Whitsuntide. Thus the coast of Virginia became, both north and south, every day better and better known, and some of the most important men in England, Sir Ferdinand Gorges, Lord Chief Justice Popham, and others, especially Richard Hakluyt, canon of Westminster, laid the plan for a great and lasting settlement.

Through their management, a society of adventurers was brought together, and King James was easily induced to extend and transfer to them the patent which Raleigh had lost, owing to his being attainted for high

* The name of "Martha's Vineyard," which he originally conferred on a small island now called No Man's Land, was probably transferred by error to the larger island now so named.

† In the year 1797, Belknap found a cellar remaining of the strong house built by Goswold for his colony, to which he seems at this early period to have given the name of Plymouth.

treason. The new patent embraced nearly the same tract of land which had once been called New France by Verrazzani, from 34° to 45° N. Lat., and all that comprised under the name of Virginia. The society split up into two parties, just as the land was separated into two districts or colonies. To one party, consisting of London commercial people and gentry, was transferred, for colonization, the south district, which comprized the tract between 34° and 38° . To the other, consisting of landlords and merchants of the west of England, was awarded the northern part, between 42° and 45° ;* the tract between 42° and 38° was given in competition to both societies. A colonial council in England, consisting of thirteen members to be named by the king, was to direct the affairs of both colonies ; and a second, subordinate to this, was to reside in the colony. The colonists and their children were to remain English subjects, and to receive from England, for seven years, duty free, every thing of which they stood in need. The imposts levied on them were to be restricted to a fifth of all the gold and silver, and a fifteenth of the copper raised ; and only after one and twenty years was the toll, to be levied on foreign ships, to accrue to the king. He reserved for himself the legislative power, and with the empty pompousness which characterized him, worked out himself a code of laws for the colony. The interior administration was exclusively in the hands of the council, and no fraction of share in it was granted to the

* Sir Ferdinando Gorges, has, in a confused tract, given the history of the Society of Plymouth (of which he was President) and his own undertakings. This work is entitled "A briefe narrative of the original undertakings of Plantations, especially New England !" London 1658. Printed anew in the collection of the Historical Society of Massachusetts Boston, XXVI.

colonists. Twice afterwards the charters of Virginia were renewed, without the constitution of the colonies losing anything of its aristocratic character. It was only when it had dragged on fourteen years through a sorry kind of existence, that it obtained the privilege of a provincial legislature; which however it had forestalled two years previously: — an epoch from which the American of the Southern States likes to date the origin of democratic liberty, which he first gained some hundred and fifty years afterwards with the sword.

The society of South Virginia, or as it was generally called, the Adventurers of London, went quickly to work.* A number of emigrants were sent off, who really wanted to go to *Ranoke* the seat of Raleigh's last colony, but they got into the bay of *Chesapeake*, and built *James town*. Considerable sums were profitably invested, but the strong desire for immediate gain, which was paramount in the undertaking, the insufficiency of the first three or four supplies sent to the colonists, and the unwise assumption, with which the leading members of the high council interfered with the movements of a machine of which they could not, at such a distance, have any correct appreciation, did not permit the whole affair to thrive properly; and the best powers of the chivalric *John Smith* were ruined in useless struggles. Only after years of sacrifice did the sickly growth gain strength, and then begin all at once to strike its roots into the soil in which it was now indigenous, and in its bold expansion become in the end dangerous to the mother country.

The efforts of the other society which had its seat in *Plymouth* are more connected with our subject. This

society certainly showed much less activity than the other. Nevertheless two celebrated members of it, the beforementioned Sir Ferdinando Gorges, and Popham, Lord Chief Justice of England, sent out two ships, in order to make new discoveries on the coast of Virginia; and soon afterwards two others to make a settlement there. The adventurers landed on an island at the mouth of the Kennebeck, in what is now the state of Maine*, and forty-five men with George Popham, brother of the Chief Justice, as their president, provided with every thing necessary, were left there as settlers. But the severe winter, the death of their president, and a fire which consumed their stores, so completely dispirited the colonists, that they returned in the following year by the ships which brought their provisions and other supplies†.

This unexpected wreck of their plan naturally annoyed the undertakers of it, and as in addition, the Lord Chief Justice, the principal promoter of the affair, had in the mean time gone mad, the colonization of Virginia was for some time at a complete stand still.

The Society of Plymouth contented itself with sending out from time to time fishing ships, which however found richer booty about Newfoundland; whereupon, in order to create a monopoly of this business, another society of adventurers and planters, principally

* The Kennebeck unites with the Sagadahok, now called the Androscoggin, and both empty themselves by the same mouth. Hence the plantation is often called the colony of Sagadahok; by which name at that time all Maine was distinguished.

† This island, now called Parker's Island remained, after the return of the colonists, uninhabited by whites until 1650; at which time Sir John Parker bought it from the Indians and gave it his name. Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, I. 252.

merchants from London and Bristol, obtained a patent for that part of America between 46° and 52° , and planted a small colony in the Bay of Conception in Newfoundland. The French meanwhile took advantage of the inactivity of the English, and in small, quiet settlements spread themselves far towards Maine.

In the mean time Lieutenant John Smith, one of the boldest and most daring adventurers of his day, so rich in adventures, who united the knight errantry of a past age with the commercial enterprize and thirst for gold of this century, had returned from Virginia. His hopes of the new world to be created there were shattered by the narrowmindedness of his superiors, and the treachery of his companions; but his spirit could not rest, and hence his ever active fancy turned entirely to the North of Virginia, and the advantages of colonizing it. In the year 1614 he undertook, in part at his own expense, in part at the expense of four commercial men, a trading journey to this country, which on this occasion was named by him for the first time, New England; a title which was afterwards confirmed by Prince Charles, whom he knew how to interest in it.

A rich pecuniary return, and the first plan of New England, executed by him, as formerly the plan of Chesapeake Bay was, with skill and zest for the work, were the immediate results of this journey. In the names which he gave to some of the places discovered, he commemorated the chief recollections of his adventurous life. The Northern Cape of Massachusetts, now Cape Ann, he called Cape Tragabizzanda, in re-

membrance of a beautiful Turkish lady, whose slave he had been when prisoner of war in Constantinople. The three small islands close by were called the three Turkish Heads, in honour of one of his most brilliant exploits; another group more to the right, Smith's Island: posterity has not been grateful enough to preserve any of these names. From this time forwards his whole life was devoted to furthering the colonization of New England; and he ultimately succeeded in awakening again in its behalf the interest of the adventurers of Plymouth by whom he was formally created Admiral of New England.

A voyage which he made thither in their service failed indeed, first owing to violent storms which drove him back, and secondly on another trial, through the treachery of his companions and his own imprisonment, but his aims were attained. The interest for New England was awakened, and after he was set at liberty and had returned to England, his life was and remained devoted to this one idea. He did everything, that persuasion by writings and personal intercourse could effect, to carry out his darling plan of procuring for New England a population of Saxon blood. It is difficult to say whether such was his real conviction of the nature of the climate, when he called Massachusetts a paradise, or when he maintains that of the four quarters of the globe he would most of all like to dwell in this, or describes with almost poetical fervour the never ceasing charm of gliding on at even tide to the goal o'er the tranquil waters of the bay studded with blooming islands, or merely wished thus to attract the English planters; it may suffice that he was honest enough to say dis-

tinctly that work alone could make the undertaking succeed.

Unfortunately John Smith's first visit to New England was marked, though without any guilt on his part, by so black a deed, that the remembrance of it long drew down from the natives a curse on Englishmen. At his departure from New England, John Smith left one of the ships under his command in charge of Captain Hunt, with the order, after taking in his cargo, to sail to Malaga. Hunt, however, managed to attract to his ship twenty-seven Indians from Patuxet and Nauset, and the shores of Cape Cod Bay, whom he took with him, and most of them sold in Malaga. The natives were inflamed with fury and hate against the treacherous strangers; and when, shortly after, another ship was sent by the society of Plymouth to the same coast, bringing back two of the Indians carried off by Hunt to England, in order to assist them in a contemplated settlement, the natives contrived in a most resolute manner to make themselves masters of one of them, for the other died directly after his arrival. A contest ensued, and the idea of a settlement among men now recognized as hostile had to be given up. Even five years after, when Captain Dermer, who in the service of the Plymouth Society lay in Manhiggan, skirted these coasts, he was received with burning hate, and his life would have been sacrificed had he not been rescued by one of the kidnapped Indians called Squanto, whom he had brought back, and who had, on nearer acquaintance, grown attached to the whites.

Hunt's scandalous action, at which every honest man must shudder, was however by no means the first of that

kind enacted on the coast of North America. It was an everyday occurrence for a captain, who lay here for the purpose of investigation or trade, to carry off one or two of the natives as trophies, or to satisfy the curious at home. It is easy to assume that few went of their own accord. A native of the coast north of Labrador, whom Frobisher took with him, in despair bit off a piece of his tongue and died immediately after his arrival in England. Verrazzani carried off a child, and sought also to attract to the ship a young girl, who, however, escaped the treacherous snare. Vasquez de Ayllon, with hypocritical treachery, invited some inhabitants of the coast of Labrador to see his ships, and when the unhappy creatures, who had not yet begun to entertain any suspicion of the Europeans, swarmed in, he carried off a hundred and thirty as slaves for the mines in St. Domingo.* To outwit heathens was no crime in those dark times of Christianity. The age in which Hunt lived was more enlightened, and his black deed raised up such general horror, that the Society of Plymouth called him to account for it, and dismissed him from the service.

It was the more necessary for them to remain on a good footing with the inhabitants, that they aimed at colonization on an extensive scale, and intended to set still greater means to work. The vast privileges which the Society at South Virginia had secured by its great charters, had awakened the jealousy of the rest. They were aided by one of the leading courtiers, and received a new patent for directing, ordering, and govern-

* Holmes I, 47. A small number only survived the voyage, many died on board; many perished by shipwreck. This crime occurred on the coast of the present South Carolina, which was then included in Florida.

ing New England, procured by his influence with the weak king. This patent gave them possession of all the land between 40° and 48° N. Lat., and from one sea to the other, and secured to them a monopoly of all the trade and fishing on the coasts. The enormous extent of this privilege was in itself injurious to it. The jealousy of the house of commons was awakened, and two years after, the fishing was again made free. With regard however to the possession of the land, the society contented itself for a considerable time with selling its privileges, in the form of patents for particular districts, to persons or small societies. Before, however, they had got clear of one, nay, before even the right to do this, which had been granted them by the king's patent, had been brought into existence, Providence had, in its unspeakable wisdom, led into the wilderness allotted to them, a little band of pioneers, who were destined, with iron will and trust in God, to smooth the way for thousands of their weaker countrymen.

CHAPTER II.

THE PURITANS.

THE Reformation had not long struck root in the soil of England; the mass of the people were far from being estranged from the usages of the old church, which were sensual and to some extent suited to them, when the reformers split into two parties, of which one conquered, because it not only greatly favoured the material tendencies of the crowd, but also the claims of the kings to unbounded power. As victor it was also oppressor. But the oppressed firmly refused to allow the absolute dogmas of a church to be forced upon them, which, in addition to its not being sanctioned by antiquity, was supported by no authority of traditional opinions, like the Romish church; which was itself new, and, as it appeared to them, without solidity and inward harmony; the arbitrary and unskilful patchwork of a crowned, capricious despot and imperious prelates.

The claims of the Episcopal church to be recognized as the true, original, but purified and renovated Catholic church, which have in later days been put forth in such an irritating manner against all other churches, are the more absurd, as they are newer than her separation from the church. For neither under Elizabeth, nor under the Stuarts, was conformity ever forced upon the Puritans under the pretext of receiving them into a church alone capable of saving (it being rather the Puritans

who fell into the delusion of believing that theirs was the only way to salvation;) but only in obedience to the law, which made the Episcopal the State church and really *the* only valid church. It was as *rebels*, not as *heretics* that they were punished. It is true that the Reformation had not arisen in England, as in Holland, from the urgent wants of the people. The world knows from what soil the noble plant had there first shot up, when almost two hundred years previously the purer hand of Wickliffe had laid the seed in the earth. Henry VIII., in fact, only erased from the Roman Catholic creed what it was inconvenient to him to retain; he reserved all the bad usages, all the Inquisitionary spirit; nay, his watchful, jealous, tyrannical nature made him a pope more dreaded than he who ruled on the distant stool of Rome. But under his son Edward, a more complete destruction and, with that, the formation of a new edifice took place; in which the nation, little by little, learned to feel itself so much at ease, that Elizabeth could employ it as a sure fortress against her Catholic enemies, and therefore found it convenient to preserve it.

Let my readers pardon the remark! The history of Oriental or Slavonic despotism scarcely offers a more repulsive picture than that of the representatives of the English people *under the four last Tudors*. The Russian system, *God and the Czar will have it so!* though little consonant with a free, noble spirit, presupposes a certain filial feeling, which willingly bends under the hand of the Highest and his earthly representatives; but the slavish devotion, the crouching flattery with which in this period we see the English nation—more especially the *high* nobility on whom the Englishman still looks

with unbounded reverence as the flower of the whole race,—recognize as *infallible* the pretensions of their rulers, and change their religious convictions like gloves, is unparalleled in the history of Christendom. Not that England has not had her martyrs; the bloody fanaticism of Mary demanded hundreds of expiatory sacrifices. But it was the Puritans who first taught the Briton that true heroism of spirit, which not merely willingly *dies* for its faith, but also devotes all the energies of *life* to secure it the victory. Cranmer and Hooper may be considered as the representatives of the two Protestant parties in England. Cranmer the head, the founder of the State church, sought by long submission and concession, and finally by a shameful apostasy, to save himself; until the better spirit within him conquered. Hooper, after he had obstinately battled for what he called the pure *body* of the new born church, died for her *soul* at the stake, without wincing, and in a state of spiritual elation. The share of the former in the Reformation is well known, but not so that taken by the latter, though his influence over the people was greater; and in him the division in the views of the reformers was first visible; although it did not come to a separation until a decennium and a half had rolled away, heavy with opposition and strife.

Perhaps it may not be unacceptable to the reader if we conduct him to the source, that he may the better comprehend this schism which had for its result the colonization of New England.

From the time of Wycliffe, the morning star of the Reformation, there may have been in England, as every where else, priests of different opinions on different

points. Nevertheless no opportunity seems to have offered itself to bring into operation the laws against heretics, laid down in the early councils. The Wycliffites and the Lollards were however too dangerous to the infallibility of the holy stool, not to arm against them all the power of the insulted church. Already under Henry IV. we find, in accordance with this fact, a special law which, without ceremony, subjects to the clergy all persons suspected of heresy; and even under the heroic Henry V., we see included in the statute against heretics, every one who should dare to read the Bible in the mother tongue. All such were declared "Heretics to God, enemies of the throne, and wicked traitors to the country, and deprived they and their heirs of their lands, cattle, life, and goods."

It was evident that this was not powerful enough to destroy the seed scattered (though not able to struggle through to the light) over the fields of England, steeped in blood by the long and harassing wars of the red and white Roses; when the Reformers in Wittenberg lighted the torch, which was soon to set half Europe in a blaze, the slumbering sparks in England broke out in many a breast into a wholesome flame. Henry the Eighth's thoroughly personal rupture with the holy see could only nourish this, for with the infallibility of the Pope and of the councils, the key stone of Catholicism was shaken. Although the king's arbitrary dogmas retained the greater part of the Roman doctrines, as purgatory, the communion under one species, celibacy of the clergy, calling on the saints, masses for the dead, picture worship, auricular confession, penances, together with all the mystic ceremonies of the Roman

service ; yet this arbitrary power with which one part was cut off, and that retained which the German reformers rejected, naturally awoke even the laity to reflection and research ; the more so as four years before Henry's death the reading of the Bible was again allowed. Tyndale and Ann Askew were the victims of daring to think for themselves.

The real party opinions, however, first showed themselves under the young Edward. The retrograde movements towards Catholicism in the last years of Henry VIII., had driven a small number of preachers to the continent, where they for the most part embraced the doctrines of the severe reformers of Zurich and Geneva, and spread them on their return to England. The white, or party coloured garments for the mass, used by the Catholic priests, were laid aside by all the Protestants of the continent, and were exchanged by the Lutherans for simple black surplices. The Calvinist despised every outward sign. When after this, Hooper, one of the most influential and able priests in England, returned back after the death of Henry VIII., and was created Bishop of Gloucester, he declined this dignity, first, on account of the oath "by God, the saints, and the Holy Ghost," which he had to take at his inauguration, and secondly, on account of the Aaron-like vestments which he had to wear. The young king, with his own pen, altered the oath to Hooper's satisfaction, and would have yielded the second point also, but that the bishops insisted upon the vestment which they had themselves worn at the time of inauguration, and still wore, and which they were as little inclined to remit to Hooper, as they were to allow him to renounce the

bishopric. Reason, persuasion, harshness, not even the counsel of the foreign theologians Bucer and Peter Martyr in England, and of the Swiss reformers, which he sought on this point, and which recommended him not to withdraw himself from the good cause on account of this circumstance, but rather to expect a wider reform in such usages from time, and his own more extended influence: nothing could turn Hooper's stubborn sense of right. He remained nine months a prisoner, first in Cranmer's house, then in the Fleet; at length the matter ended in a compromise by which he consented to wear the hated dress at consecrations and very solemn occasions; but at other times it was remitted. According to the account given by Fox, the historian of the martyrs, he took this resolution only because it was the sole means of saving his life. Sighing, he allowed the white surplice and red mantle to be laid on him, and the four cornered cap in which he appeared, "like a player on the stage," when he had to preach at his consecration before the king; then he withdrew into his diocese where he worked and taught with ceaseless perseverance, frequently preaching two or three times in a day, and exhibiting in life and death, an example of the most severe christian virtues, without once again putting on the "sacrificial dress."

The whole of the clergy had taken part in the controversies connected with this affair; the greater part of the Protestant clergy were for Hooper, and many, who had till then worn the priestly dress, now laid it silently by. Among the latter were even some of the bishops. It was not insisted upon so much at further ordinations by Ridley and Cranmer; and towards the end of their

days both expressed their contempt for it. To the question of the dress were added some others, which were in themselves of just as little consequence, but had become in time important, principally, however, as the warcy and watchword of the Protestant party. One principal question now brought forward, was, whether the communion should, as hitherto, be taken standing, or sitting, as at meals. Many points also in the morning and evening service, as laid down in the liturgy, published at the time by King Edward's authority, and recognised as the only legal one, were offensive to a great part of the clergy. For they most decidedly wished to separate themselves further and further from every thing savouring of popery, and to approximate to the simplicity of the primitive church.

Nevertheless these different views in no way conduced to a regular schism; particularly as the ruling church party was far removed from considering the Reformation concluded, but rather worked more and more at new revisions of the articles of belief and forms of prayer.

In the mean time the Anabaptists and Arians, or Unitarians, seemed to threaten the new church with danger, and were exposed to persecution from her. When, however, under the bloody government of Mary, the prisons were filled with clergymen of all persuasions mingled together in medley confusion, the most violent disputes arose among them; partly among the *Trinitarians themselves*, between the *believers in free will* and those in *Predestination*; partly between the former and the Arians. The war was carried on, in writings, which in the form of confessions of faith were circulated

in Newgate among the prisoners for subscription, and in violent discussions. Such scandalous scenes at last occurred that the gaoler had to interfere and separate the prisoners, and this took place among Christian clergymen, who were likely on the next day to pass from the same blazing faggot to the throne of eternal love!

Thousands of Protestants had fled before the storm which threatened them at the time Mary ascended the throne, and found refuge on the continent; where, especially in Basle, Frankfort, Geneva, Strasburg, Duisburgh and Zurich, they were hospitably received and with Christian friendship. Unfortunately the intolerance of the Lutherans in Denmark and the Hanse Towns allowed them, as Calvinists, no fixed abode there; but instead, drove them, despite Melancthon's intercession, from place to place. The number of these last exiles amounted to 800, of whom six were bishops, with many other clergymen of distinction. Among the laity were the Duchess of Suffolk and several barons and knights. They collected together in numbers at Frankfort-on-the-Maine, and it was here that the diversity between those of various creeds terminated in a complete separation; from this we date the origin of the Puritans.

In June, 1554, a number of English families came to Frankfort, and applied for the use of the French church during the hours when it was not used by the French community. This was willingly granted them, on the condition that they should sign the French confession of faith, and not quarrel with one another about the ceremonies. The English accepted the condition. Among themselves they were united in opinion to remove the

responses and the liturgy from their service and to abolish the priestly dress. The greatest simplicity alone suited them. The service was to commence by a general confession of sins, then the congregation had to sing, in a simple manner, a psalm arranged in verses; after which the priest had to implore in a prayer the assistance of God, and then to proceed to the sermon. A general prayer followed for all states, and especially for England, at the conclusion of which the Lord's Prayer and the Articles of Belief were recited; then the congregation were to sing a psalm, and the clergyman to dismiss them with a benediction. They now elected a priest and deacon; wrote letters to their banished countrymen scattered through the German and Swiss towns, inviting them to Frankfort; and took possession of the church.

The learned among the self-exiled English clergy, and especially the bishops, were principally gone to Strasburgh, Basle, Zurich, and Geneva; partly on account of the libraries and learned divines to be met with there, and partly because they had some hopes of there finding literary work, so as to be able to live. Some of these were now invited to undertake the spiritual tutorship, by the Frankfort congregation, who at the same time announced to them what alterations they had made in the liturgy of King Edward, and how they thought they had thus approached nearer to the scriptures. Hereupon the Strasburgh and Zurich clergy returned them a disapproving answer. They blamed the brethren for having altered the liturgy introduced by law; and for having by this alteration, made it appear contemptible to strangers; whilst at home countless

pious Christians had for its sake died the death of martyrs. They would only unite with them on condition that the whole book should be introduced. Whereupon the Frankforters answered that in England the liturgy had ceased to be in accordance with the law, as it had been abrogated by another law, and moreover, that they believed that their brother martyrs in England had not died for the "ceremonies," the only part that had been removed; and that they begged of them (the divines), to stay away altogether than rather come to Frankfort to make innovations.

More than half a year had been spent in these alterations. In the mean time the Frankforters had chosen some preachers; among them was John Knox, who had till now lived in Geneva; the same who afterwards acquired so fearful a name as a reformer in Scotland, and enemy of the unfortunate Mary Stuart. We may thus imagine that they knew how to conduct their affairs with decision enough. Moreover Calvin, to whom they had referred this point for decision, had declared himself in their favour; and they resolved if ever a dispute should arise among them, to leave the arrangement of it to Calvin, Bullinger, Peter Martyr, or some others of the celebrated foreign theologians.

This community had been about nine months in quiet possession of the church, when some of the hostile clergy came to Frankfort, among whom was Dr. Cox, formerly tutor to King Edward, and one of the committee who had composed his church service. His influence among his countrymen was great, and therefore he dared attempt more than others. On the first Sunday he interrupted the service by answering the preacher

aloud. The next Sunday one of his confederates, without further ceremony, mounted the pulpit and read out the whole litany. Thereupon Knox, in the sermon, adverted to their conduct in very severe terms, and seized this opportunity of taking the field against many precepts in their service, as being unclean, priestly, and superstitious. But the opinions of the Frankfort community seem for a long time to have been divided on this point; and at length, owing to Cox's influence, preponderated to his side. For when the community voted upon the old and the new liturgy, the majority went against Knox, and he was forbidden to preach. Upon this his supporters turned to the authorities, who urged the maintenance of the former arrangement, and concordance with the French community.

The scale seemed again to turn in Knox's favour, and it is painful to relate by what unchristian means Dr. Cox made it once more lean to his side. He communicated to the authorities a book which his opponent had some years previously written in England, entitled, "An Admonition to Christians," in which he inveighed in his usual boisterous style against the emperor, the principal supporter of Catholicism, called him an enemy of Christianity, compared him with Nero; and Cox thereupon impeached him (Knox) for high treason against the sovereign of the country! The magistrate was embarrassed: the times were serious, and any disagreement with the emperor was above all things to be avoided. It was therefore determined, in the most respectful manner to give Knox to understand, that it would be better if he left the town, which he did. He found a home in Geneva where he had formerly lived.

Half the Frankfort community followed him thither; a church was allotted them, and a new congregation formed. They here formally accepted the Genevese church discipline and liturgy, and had them printed in English; dedicating the work to their brethren in England and abroad. The community in Frankfort, which soon increased, especially by the addition of several distinguished clergymen, constituted themselves anew, and by the consent of the authorities, introduced the arrangement of King Edward's service, and sought to win for themselves the opinion of Calvin and other Swiss reformers. But in this they did not succeed, and though on good terms with them, Calvin leant decidedly to the side of the Genevese community. They also fell into disputes among themselves about church discipline, which excited great bitterness, and were at length settled by the authorities. During the whole time they existed on the continent, each of these English churches which, in no inconsiderable numbers, were scattered among the German, Swiss, and Flemish towns, subsisted by itself, quite independent of the others. Most of them followed the liturgy of King Edward, but with omissions and alterations according to the various opinions. This is the origin of the two protestant parties which at a later date were known under the name of Conformists and Nonconformists, or Puritans; and which exerted such a decided influence on the career of events in England.

CHAPTER III.

CONFORMITY ENFORCED. SEPARATION FROM THE STATE CHURCH.

SOME years after, when the death of the catholic Mary left the throne of England vacant for Elizabeth, in whom people, notwithstanding she outwardly followed the usages of the catholic religion, considered themselves entitled to presuppose a secret inclination to the reformation—the more so as her right to the throne was based upon a rejection of the papal authority—the separated English protestants saw the necessity of union; for only by it could they form an equipoise against the catholic party so as to turn the scale in favour of the pure church. Accordingly letters were interchanged between the communities of Geneva, Frankfort, Strasburgh and most of the others, which had been formed on the continent, in which reciprocal pardon was assured, and a convocation formed for petitioning the queen to promote the pure doctrine. To the Genevese, although they were the injured party, belongs the merit of having taken the first step towards reconciliation: the others freely offered their hands, but declared beforehand that they would rather submit to *indifferent* ceremonies than oppose the queen, and begged the brethren to do the same. For the legality of the unbounded supremacy of the throne, which had been adopted among the English with such inconceivable rapidity, had never, during their exile appeared doubtful to them, while their

long sojourn in a republic, and more intimate connection with the Swiss reformers, had propagated other opinions among the Genevese community.

Both parties on their return found themselves deceived in the queen. The service was continued in the ordinary catholic fashion, mass was read and other ceremonies retained,* and no catholic bishop was removed from his bishopric. The oppressed protestants had indeed in some places after Mary's death again made the service conformable to King Edward's ritual, and this was silently overlooked. But still with all this, preaching was strictly forbidden until the opening of parliament, in order to avoid pulpit disputes :† and the people were obliged to be satisfied with the reading of the prescribed lessons and prayers. Moreover the reformation had as yet penetrated but too little, for the mass of the people not to be satisfied with it.

This is not the place to relate circumstantially the history of the reformation of the English church ; it concerns us only as it carried in it the seeds of discord. The queen, who inherited all the imperious and obstinate spirit of her father, had above all things two points in view ; supremacy, and the suppression of all tendencies in the new doctrine to introduce liberty among the people. She was inclined to catholicism, of which she loved the pompous usages and material forms ; and long after she had, by an act of parliament, removed pic-

* Strype's Annals of the Reformation in England, I. 51—sq.

† “ Both (gospellers and catholics) took their occasions to speak freely their minds in the pulpit. Of which last the queen being aware forbade all preaching and especially in London,” the same, I. 41. But the prohibition seems to have been soon removed, and at court, the preaching was never interrupted, 42.

tures and altars from the church, she retained in her own chapel all the outward tokens of the old religion.

Though she oppressed the catholics, it was only because they contested her supremacy, and even this she did, at least during part of her reign, with a forbearance and indulgence, which made her doubly sensitive on finding that she had thereby only entailed upon herself their bitter hatred. But the severe Calvinistic disciples of the new doctrines she persecuted with all the ever watchful and ruthless severity of her despotic character, and made no secret of her hatred towards them. She dreaded the liberty of the pulpit, or in the language of that day, the liberty of prophesying, at which the puritan clergy aimed. She feared their influence over the people. For the preachers then began, in their intelligible, straight forward, and popular eloquence, to be in a certain degree the people's tribunes of England. But pulpit liberty was then what liberty of the press is now a days.

The doctrines of both parties were in fact the same ; but their ideas of the constitution of the church, necessary to be adopted, were essentially different ; and this was exactly the dangerous point. According to the views of both, the scriptures were a perfect guide ; but while the early English reformers maintained with Luther that the Saviour had left to the authorities the direction of the church discipline of the day, the puritans wished to trace all rules for this in the scriptures, and that the exposition should belong to the church, and not to lay authority. The episcopal reformers recognized the church of Rome as a real christian church, though depraved in doctrine and constitution ; and they therein

followed the *former* doctrines of Luther, while the puritans, judging from his *later* views and those of Calvin, declared the pope to be the antichrist of the scriptures, and renounced all community with the Romish church, as superstitious and idolatrous. The former maintained that things which are in themselves indifferent, and neither commanded nor forbidden in scripture, as church ceremonies, sacerdotal garments &c., could be introduced by the civic authority, and that it was the duty of the subject to obey. The puritans, on the other hand, with invincible resolution maintained, that things which Christ had left *indifferent* could not be made *necessary* by human edicts; and also that usages which were degraded to idolatry, and carried men back to papistry, could not be regarded as indifferent, but must be rejected as unscriptural.

Such were the principal points of difference between the two protestant parties in England, at the time Queen Elizabeth entered upon the government; they were, as Neal remarks, unfortunately only unanimous in one respect; that is, in a firm belief in the necessity of a complete harmony and conformity among English Christians, not only in articles of belief, but also in public divine service. So long as the puritans had even a shadow of a hope that they would triumph, they did not limit themselves to claiming mere indulgence. On the contrary they were untiring in representations and petitions to the queen and parliament, not so much to leave them their own forms, as to thoroughly purify the divine service throughout the land. It was only after nine years of the most determined opposition that they resolved upon a separation. The puritan clergy consented to take the oath of supremacy, and subscribed the confes-

sion of faith composed by the bishops, but the union failed in the definition of the usages of the service.

A few other points excepted, it may be said that it was principally against the priestly dress that the reformed clergy, like Hooper, took offence.

At a revision of King Edward's liturgy, the dress was introduced, not in the new style, which had only retained the surplice from among all the garments, but in the old fashion, with the cope, square cap, &c.; the theatrical change of dress at the different stages of the service was enforced, and a clause declared that it should so exist until it pleased her royal majesty to abolish it. This liturgy was introduced in 1559, as an act of uniformity for divine service, and did not pass through parliament without opposition from some of the bishops. For many, nay most of them, had expressed the same dislike to the priestly dress so long as they lived on the continent among French and German reformers; but in others the prospects of advancement had conquered this dislike when they saw that the queen was bent upon it; others could not withdraw themselves from the good cause on account of one point, in which they were backed up by the German reformers, and hoped better things from time; when however their former brethren and companions in exile showed more resolution, or less care for the common weal, they were disheartened, embittered, and converted into as zealous champions of the priestly dress, and of the acts of uniformity in general, as those who had retained a preference for them ever since the catholic times.

At first, however, neither the prescribed dress, nor yet the strict uniformity of divine service in other respects

were made exactly compulsory. The queen who had ascended the throne under the most disadvantageous circumstances, quietly waited till her position should be stronger, before taking any decided steps. The bishops readily shut their eyes to this, and some even countenanced certain deviations; others, and among them were distinguished theologians, as Sandys, Grindal, and Jewel, contented themselves with preaching against the culpable obstinacy of those who disturbed the unity of the church about frivolous matters; or they privately warned the clergy of their dioceses. The commission of 1559, partly composed of laymen, and nominated for an exact scrutiny of church affairs, was particularly directed against popedom, and was hence equally patronized by both parties. For no steps against the catholics were so severe that they would not have been sanctioned by the reformers. This commission made the uncontroverted supremacy of the queen over all the churches in her empire its principal affair. At that time not one of the Calvinistic zealots refused this. Thus for a length of time a certain though reluctant toleration was established. The contest was carried on pretty much the same as that a few years previously in Germany, about the *Adiaphora*, the offspring of an enforced repose; that is, by writings, preachings, disputations, only with less personal bitterness, and with the necessary difference which the variety of political relations produced. Every non-conforming clergyman was certainly excluded from all promotion, and many theologians who had returned from exile, amongst them some of the most learned and esteemed preachers of England, suffered the greatest distress, not having the means of sup-

porting life. But still up to the year 1564, no clergyman possessed of a place was removed from it, or declared incapable of serving, on account of non-conformity; the queen however sought to prevent the great concourse which attended these preachers, by forbidding any preaching except upon the gospel and the epistle of the day, and all reading of any other than the prescribed prayers.

But in this year a report of the great dissimilarity in the service throughout the land, made her first observe how little her commands were attended to. In some churches, said this report, the communion table stands in the nave of the church, in others in the choir; in some an ell from the wall, in others it is arranged like an altar. Some clergymen deliver the prayers from the pulpit; others again in the nave of the church; some again in the choir; some wear the surplice, and caps; some again the surplice only, and some not even this. Some employ at the communion a chalice, some a communion cup: this man uses leavened bread, another unleavened. In one place the sacrament is taken kneeling, in another sitting; in one the baptism takes place at the font, in others at a bason. Some regulate the service exactly in conformity with the prescribed liturgy, others intermix psalms, &c.

It appears scarcely possible, that it was this and nothing more important, that put Elizabeth in such wrath, that she immediately issued a peremptory order to the archbishops of York and Canterbury, to confer with the bishops, and once for all to enforce throughout the land a complete uniformity in all church ceremonies. It is scarcely credible that the peace and unity of the

English reformed church were wrecked on such contemptible trifles. Some considered their souls endangered by wearing a white gown, by bowing their knees; others wished to offer up the peace of conscience of their brethren to satisfy a tyrannical sway. It is certain that from this time began the ruthless persecution and oppression of the puritans, which ended in their complete separation from the church of England, and increased most fearfully until within a few years of the queen's death. Parker, archbishop of Canterbury, was personally inclined to the forms of the Genevese church, but his servile mind and harsh spirit made him the readiest tool of the despotic queen. Whilst his successors, Whitgift and Bancroft, however, persecuted the puritans with such iron resolution, because they were persuaded of the popish infallibility of the high church, we see in Parker only one of those instances of unprincipled official zeal, which rose to such a pitch as to make the will and ever the wishes of his ruler the sole guide of his actions: he was ever ready to take upon him the responsibility of these. Our days also are not bare of instances of such men, who, seen from a higher point of view, may be justly called the most dangerous enemies of kings.

Parker, had he dared to act according to his own conviction, would perhaps have left unpersecuted the over scrupulous zealots; but as the queen at once wanted submission, and as her will was the highest authority in his eyes, her inconsistent hypocritical delay did not satisfy him; and although he predicted the results to the queen, he still persisted in the most severe measures as the only method of attaining the end.

All the bishops had in fact become more and more averse to the puritans, partly on account of the great, and as they opined, unnecessary trouble, which the parochial clergy caused them, partly through the reckless hardihood with which they (the parochial clergy), in their harsh but intelligible allusions, scouted the prescribed dress, and made it ridiculous in the eyes of the people, while they waged war against other remaining usages of popery. One principal object of their ill-will was pluralities, which are to this day a stain on the English church. This arrangement, which in the beginning took its rise from the great want of able reformed clergymen, and by which the people, deprived of the presence of their "soul nurses," principally suffered, was in consequence unpopular.

Grindal, archbishop of York, acting on his own convictions, leaned much more decidedly than Parker to the side of the puritans. Only after long irresolution, he had allowed himself to be enlisted in the cause of conformity. Nevertheless, he regarded an unlimited submission to the government as his duty; and the unreasonable opposition which he met with among the minor clergy annoyed him in the highest degree. His dislike to persecution, however, and strong measures, resulted, when he at Parker's death received the primacy, in his holding the reins of church discipline much less tightly on all subjects which he personally managed, and also in *withdrawing as much as he possibly could, without compromising himself*, his personal aid from the violent persecution of the nonconformists. Nevertheless this worthy man died at last, out of favour with the queen; the loss of which he drew down upon him by

a free spirited letter in which he defended devotional exercises, when she wished to suppress as unnecessary, and even, from their leading to self-reflection, as dangerous, certain assemblages of preachers named exercises; also prophesyings, at which they exercised themselves mutually in preaching and exposition of the scriptures.

Parker's resolution required, in point of fact, no other assistance than that of the high court of commission which the queen had created for the maintenance of her supremacy, and which, with boundless despotism examined, deposed, held in prison sequestered possessions, and imposed fines. All this, not after the laws known to every subject of the realm, but in accordance with the unfathomable depths of the canon law. In this court, where, instead of twelve sworn jurymen of equal birth, the sentence was pronounced by three commissioners named by the queen, and not after the examination of witnesses, but by making the accused take an oath *ex officio* to answer all questions, whether injurious or not. The proceedings *were so thoroughly* those of a *Protestant Inquisition*, that even Cecil himself, the blind, devoted servant of his mistress, and a zealous disciple of the high church, complained of it in the strongest terms. Ere this tribunal had spread its detested tyranny over the whole realm, it seemed necessary to sift the churches in London, the real seat of non-conformity; and the manner of proceeding therein observed is too characteristic of the spirit of the commission for an accurate account of it to be withheld from the reader: we give it here in the words of an old historian. The archbishop of Canterbury had called before

him the clergy of London; he had begged the secretary of state, and some of the chief nobility, to give still greater weight by their presence to the proceedings of the commission; but they declined having anything to do with so disagreeable an affair. When the clergy appeared, they found a nonconformist preacher of the name of Thomas Cole, standing in priestly array near the commissioner, and the chancellor addressed them from the bench as follows:—Gentlemen, and ye priests of London, it is the will of the state council, that ye closely observe the unity of vestment, even as this man who stands here, canonically clad, with a square cap, a scholar's gown, priestlike, a tippet and a surplice in church. Ye who will subscribe, write *volo*; ye who will not, write *nolo*. Be brief; no words! When some of the clergy wished to speak, he interrupted them, and cried out “hush, hush. Apparitor, call out the churches, and you gentlemen answer immediately, *sub pœna contemptus*!” After much persuasion and manifold threatening, sixty-one of the hundred suffered themselves to be persuaded into signing it, thirty-seven firmly refused, and among these, according to the bishop's confession, were the best, and several of them were preachers. These last were immediately suspended, and removed from all priestly functions, with the intimation that every one who should not give in his adhesion within three months, would be peremptorily deposed. The clergy handed in a paper where their reasons against the clerical dress were laid down, but the commission answered that it was not their business to enter into controversies; they had nothing to do but fulfil the wishes of her majesty.

A similar style of proceeding was set on foot throughout the whole kingdom. All licenses to preach were called in by the archbishop, and new ones only granted to those who could make up their minds to wear the dress, the rejection of which became more and more a point of conscience with the puritans, the more value the opposite party laid upon it. Many of the suspended clergy travelled about as wandering preachers, where the people eagerly flocked to them, until they had to atone in a prison for transgressing the law. Some found among the nobility a modest livelihood as teachers, tutors, or house chaplains; some took to the study of medicine or learned a trade. Many sought help on the continent.

It seemed difficult under these circumstances to keep quiet the people deprived of their early leaders and sole spiritual food. One Palm Sunday, six hundred men came to one of the closed church doors in London, and demanded the sacrament, and such movements agitated the town, that the secretary of state urged on the bishop the necessity of providing new clergy or of opening the prisons. Towards some of the prisons the multitude streamed as in the catholic times to the saints. For the sermon became with them a spiritual want, the service was dear to them. Moreover, the subject of the martyrdom of their spiritual tutors was, from the facility with which it was comprehended, intelligible even to the most ignorant. By coupling it with the bloody times of Mary, and through the admonitions of the puritan clergy, they had learned to hate the dress as a token of the Romish idolatry. They uttered their discontent aloud, whenever they met a clergyman in the dress of

his order, nay he was not even safe from insults. Some refused to visit the churches where divine service was performed by catholic priests. In vain did the bishops seek to reconcile them to this dress by means of sermons in which they represented it as an indifferent point, and severely blamed those, who, with obstinate caprice, rather withdrew from labour acceptable to God, than submit themselves to the command of government. In some places only a severe church discipline, which allowed no one to absent himself from the house of God in his parish, could fill the churches. For every one who could escape betook himself to the few scattered preachers, whom the special indulgence of their superior allowed to preach without insignia;* others full of hate and prejudice against the liturgy, waited about before the doors of the church until the prayer preceding the sermon. Thus was a complete separation from the state church prepared among the laymen also.

It cannot be called in question that the puritanical clergy only very unwillingly resolved upon this separation, and solely because they had been ruthlessly driven forth from the church. But it is just as certain that had the government given way to them concerning the dress, apparently till then the only point in dispute, and allowed them to preach without sacerdotal garments, which they at last made the sole conditions necessary to

* As for instance, the aged Miles Coverdale, one of the composers of the first complete printed version of the Bible, and besides co-worker in the Geneva translation of it, first printed in 1560; which remained in authorized usage, together with the bishop's Bible, (prepared by Bishop Parker, and worked at by at least fifteen theologians, among whom were eight bishops,) until supplanted by the Bible of James, the present and since then, the only sanctioned one.

conformity, that they would not have been quieted by this. For points of incomparably greater importance in the church now existing, and alone recognized by law, had long been extremely disagreeable to them; nay, the greater part of the puritanically disposed were not less averse to submission to these, than to taking on the dress. This was above all the most important point of their *hierarchic* constitution. All servants of Christ were, according to their views, of like rank; hence the bishops, with their worldly might and authority, were a stain upon the purified church. Moreover, the admission of *all* to the sacrament, who were not excluded by heavy sins; the prescribed form of prayers, responses, pluralities, apocryphal books; the many holydays of the saints, the music during divine service, the sign of the cross, and the god-parents at the christening, the wedding ring, the confirmation of children, bending the knee at the name of Jesus. All these were in their eyes sinful remains of the dominion of antichrist, from which, under the urgent feeling of a necessary separation, they were thoroughly resolved to purify themselves; after having uselessly contested against them for years by means of sermons, disputes, and petitions.

In the diocese of London accordingly, some of a similar way of thinking began to unite themselves to perform the service with the simplest forms possible in private houses and in woods. The thing was talked of, and a strict prohibition of all conventicles was issued, which only had the effect of promoting their efforts, as the experience of that and every other day might have taught them.

The following year, in June, a large hall was rented

for the behoof of the communion, and under pretences of a bridal; but the sheriff discovered it, the assembly, about a hundred in number, was dispersed; many were taken into custody, seven or eight were carried before Grindal, then bishop of London, who spoke to them with mildness; they defended themselves with determined courage, nay their demeanour showed not a little of that holy arrogance which afterwards characterized the puritans. Fourteen or fifteen men and women had to atone in Bridewell, for having forsaken their parochial churches, from which place of punishment they were only liberated at the expiration of a year through Grindal's mediation.

The decisive step was now taken, the schism caused by the tyranny of the government, and the servileness and selfishness of the bishops was soon converted by intolerance and persecution into a wound which nothing could heal. In the meantime something of the puritan spirit, which contains popular elements in its very nature, had penetrated into the house of commons. But every time the iron hand of the irritated despot drove back into its original nothingness the awaking spirit, and the spark was no sooner lighted up than it was again extinguished. The slightest movement in parliament towards an improvement in the church discipline, was arrested by a message from the queen directed against this invasion of her privileges, and more than once the house was told not to interfere with church affairs. The slavish submission of the generality of the representatives of the nation, especially of the upper house, during Elizabeth's reign, exceeds any thing one can imagine. All the gigantic influence of an extraor-

dinary person presents itself to our eyes, when we read in authentic historians how her messages cowed down like school-boys the most distinguished statesmen, and how the haughtiest chiefs of the nobility slavishly crouched to this despotic queen.

In spite of Grindal's mild disposition, the severity of the government towards the puritans underwent no abatement during the few years of his primacy after Parker's death, the less so as in the mean time the natural consequences of such a narrow-hearted intolerance had begun to shew themselves, a party having been found among the persecuted which not only overstepped all bounds in its opposition to the state church, and degenerated into blind fanaticism, but even extended their claims to a complete reformation of the church, and then even to matters of state. These were the Brownists, so called from their first preacher Brown; they were also called Separatists; and sixty years after, as Independents, convulsed the English monarchy. The real founder of this school was Thomas Cartwright, professor of Cambridge. He, with Brown, was the first, who, ten years earlier, when the school was formed, propounded the dogma that every other kind of church reform, except that which the apostles had introduced, was contrary to scripture. In a bold powerful paper, "Admonition to Parliament," he urged a decided reform, the assembling of the Brownists to form a church was only the application of his principles. Brown himself, descended from a noble family, and cousin of Burleigh, was an obstinate fanatic, without perseverance or moral courage, after having drawn down on his followers a persecution which knew no bounds, he at last

renounced his principles of separation for a lucrative rectory!*

But his views, that is to say those which were his, when he in 1580, first disseminated them among the people, or spread them about by means of writings, rapidly extended themselves. From this time forward we see the puritans lastingly divided into two parties, the *old Puritans*, whose leaders had been disciples and comrades of Calvin, Beza and Bullinger, and who loved the church of England in spite of all her failings, but eagerly longed for reform, and who, as loyal subjects, recognised the supremacy of the crown, but wished to have it restricted to negative administration, as the abolishment of abuses, &c., who did not wish to destroy but to improve the building, although in truth only according to their frequently capricious and fantastical taste; and the *Separatists*, who, in their selfish narrowness, did not once recognize as true churches the reformed churches of the continent, but for whom that of England was an idolatrous institute, a legacy of popedom, an abomination, and whose, the separatists', community alone were the holy of the Lord. They wanted to tear down because the foundations were rotten, and build up anew according to their own totally democratic principles. Till now the church only had been spoken of, but in the back ground lay their state views, inseparably united to this, and a theocracy was the only monarchical form, which could, without the greatest possible inconsistency, be made compatible with their opinions.

The first community founded by Brown which had

* While Brown was pardoned, two other clergymen, Copping and Thacker, who had only disseminated his writings, were hanged in 1583.

sought, at Middleburgh in Holland, refuge from the persecutions of the bishops, soon broke up quite peaceably; owing to the incompetence of their teacher to hold them together, also to the tolerance which they met with there. For oppression, it is well known, is the food of fanaticism. But some years after, another self-exiled English community, animated by the same principle of total secession from the church of England, took the place of the former, and in spite of all inward quarrels, maintained itself as an independent church upwards of a hundred years; a power of endurance generated by the fanatical severity, not so much of their preacher Johnson, as of a part of their community: we shall afterwards revert to it. In the north country, the seed of their principles remained scattered upon the soil of all the realm, until it shot up at last into a flourishing crop. It is true that at the commencement, the principle of the separatists met with *scarcely less* severe opponents among the *moderate* puritans, than among the followers of episcopacy. But the more oppression and persecution they experienced, the more did their views find quiet welcome among the former, (the moderate puritans), and it was destined that time should soon show that they would openly act in accord with them as soon as they could venture to do so unpunished.

In fact the barbarous persecution of the nonconformists reached the highest pitch, when Whitgift, an ambitious, consistent disciplinarian, received the primacy. His zeal for the English church, and his sovereign's lust of power, both of which demanded the most unconditional submission, went now hand-in-hand. In fact, in Whitgift was lost a pope of the darkest

periods of the middle ages. He could not be persuaded into *the smallest alteration of the Liturgy, because this would be admitting that the church could err.* A new High Court of Commission, still more unfettered than any preceding one, was instituted in order to support the bishop in all his measures, and an inquisition was begun, such as had never been seen in the land. Obedience was made deliberately, as it were, more difficult than any other way of thinking. In the first week of his supreme administration of the church, a prohibition was forthwith published, "*forbidding* all preaching, catechizing, and '*praying*, in private families whenever any one besides the family was present." By the same ordination it was made imperative on the clergy to wear the priestly dress constantly, even without being in office. Signatures were now demanded on points which Parker himself had rather not have meddled with. Church officials were sworn in to inform against their clergyman, when he undertook to make any alteration in the prescribed liturgy, nay when he omitted anything; as also of everything illegal among their neighbours and parish colleagues. The authorities themselves were inspired with detestation of the necessary consequences of this oath, which filled the prisons with worthy men, and classed them with malefactors of the lowest grade. By a petition of the justices of the peace in the county of Suffolk, we see that clergymen suffered this fate for having allowed a psalm to be sung in the wrong place; for having at a christening directed the question to the god-parents instead of the christened person; (they had said *yea* instead of *thou*) or because they had omitted the cross or ring at a marriage, &c.

But Whitgift's sharp sword did not light solely on the shepherds. Any of the flock who had been enticed away were to be brought back by force. He who remained a month absent from his parish church was summoned to trial, in order to give an account of his absence, and punished by a severe fine—the previous fine of twelve pence being raised to twenty pounds sterling a-month—and when this could not be extracted, punishment in prison was substituted. Secret spies made their way into the bosoms of families in order to appear as witnesses or informers; a series of skilfully arranged questions, which the defendant was bound on oath to answer truly, made him unavoidably his own accuser; if he hesitated to take the oath he was punished for contempt (*sub pœna contemptus*); if he took it, as a transgressor according to his own evidence. Not merely he who was taken in a conventicle was seized; in the stillness of the night the constables of the spiritual court broke into the houses of the accused, tore from their beds, men and women, who were perhaps left to languish years and years among thieves and murderers in pestilential prisons. Chains, confiscations, eternal banishment, and even death, and to make it more bitter, death without benefit of clergy, were the punishments of non-conformity.

Such crying injustice could only produce heightened resistance, and greater bitterness; and at last a passion for the victims of martyrdom, in which light those misused in this way soon appeared to their fellow believers. According to Sir Walter Raleigh's report to parliament, there were in England in the year 1580, twenty thousand Christians who visited conventicles, and the

succeeding ten or twenty years greatly increased this number. In summer they assembled in lonely fields and woods at midnight, or at early morn; in winter, in the houses of the citizens, the doors and shops being closed. For some time the press had been a powerful auxiliary to the sermon in diffusing the puritanical doctrines. A complete flood of polemical treatises and satires against the high church and bishops poured forth from concealed printing establishments, which all the watchfulness of the church police could not find out. The polemics dogmatic, blindly zealous, and fanatic; the satires personal, burlesque, low even to vulgarity, would be repulsive to the enlightened taste of our time; but they were conceived and written in the taste of that day, they made the sought-for impression, and were repaid in their own coin.* Not only the author, but also the printers and sellers were punished on discovery with imprisonment, maiming, or death.† No one ever thought of such a thing as converting or convincing those who thought differently. They were to obey as subjects obey, blindly, no matter whether in accordance with their consciences or not. A preacher of the name of Smith, after having languished a year in

* Not only was it forbidden to write against the mandates, proclamations, injunctions, patents, &c. of the queen, but even against the meaning of them. The commissioners were authorized in suspicious houses to examine without any ceremony all papers, packets, &c.

† Some time previously a law student of the name of Stubbs, a puritan and an author of a writing against the marriage of the queen with the Duke of Anjou—"the gaping gulph wherein England will be swallowed," had his right hand hewn off. With the left he took off his hat and cried out, God save the queen; with such servile, nay cur-like (for only the cur will lick the foot that treads on him), veneration was Elizabeth regarded by both parties. The same sentence was executed on Page, a disseminator of the publication. The printer was for this time pardoned.—Neal i. 371.

prison, was brought before the court of commission. On the question being put if he would decide upon going to church, he answered that this might make a hypocrite of him, as he held the divine service of the high church to be contrary to scripture. For my part, replied one of the commissioners, you may be a hypocrite, a flatterer, a satan, anything you will; only obey the queen's law and go to church. Similar things occurred in many examinations at which the bishops presided. Intimidation and threats were to refill the forsaken churches. In vain! the more violent and unjust the persecution, the more head-way did the influence of the puritans make among the people, and the more did it make itself visible in all relations of life; although it was only in the next reign that it was seen how much it had gained the upper hand in the house of commons.

We are not inclined to defend the proceedings of the puritans; much less their views. As regards the last, many of their objections to the episcopal service were of such a nature, that most of the bishops had coincided with them, and repeatedly declared that they had only submitted to these abuses for the time being, because they believed them unavoidable; and hoped to be able to counteract them by their extended influence. The greater number of them were speedily reconciled to these abuses. Some however continued to preach and to work against particular instances. Some objections again were of such a kind that it is difficult to understand what there was sinful, nay, objectionable, to be found in them, as, for instance, that against the prescribed form of the Lord's Prayer, which, for the sophistical reason that it was rather a summary of what we should

pray, than a prescribed and recommended form, and that it was not employed by the Apostles, and since the descent of the Holy Ghost its precept had been abolished, they wished to expel from the church, and to replace by their own extempore outpourings, which certainly surpass the Lord's Prayer in length and copiousness of words, though not in simplicity and suitableness to the object. Some of their objections were directed against things which were morally so indifferent, that it could not have burdened their consciences to admit them; as the use of the organ, which they, deprived of all sense of art and beauty, declared to be useless and incommodious, but which they could as little maintain to be godless or sinful, as the raising of the human voice to the praise of God; both being sensual. And yet they were as willing to be martyrs for such trifling things, and to throw themselves, their families, and communities into present misery, as for more important matters. Hence their views must naturally appear to us onesided in a high degree, self-willed, and narrow-minded. But again as regards their conduct, who can refuse his esteem to men, who, when the question lay between law and conscience, preferred to transgress the former? It may be that in the most blinded self-will they had often made themselves an artificial conscience; that narrow-mindedness, obstinacy, and priestly pride had often pointed out to them a very narrow path for their conscience; enough: they defended, not for the sake of worldly wealth, the noblest right of man, that of worshipping God after his own conscience, which was withheld from them by the boundless despotism of their rulers and laws; laws which had been enacted by their enemies and persecutors, themselves, in some degree, the

serfs and slaves of this despotism, and which had even on some occasions been made expressly for their condemnation. If again it may be said in defence of the government and of the possessors of power in general, that they wisely foresaw the dangerous democratic character which must result from the system of the puritans, if even it were innocent at the commencement; yet this could only be conceded conditionally, when we consider that it was really oppression which gave them this very dangerous character; and that there was, at a proper time, no want of means to hold the balance and prevent the sinking of the scale. All that we can say in defence of their oppression, could be said with as much justice against every struggle for right; and the bounds of what may be permitted would be here and there somewhat difficult to draw.

The powerful influence which the puritans had obtained over the people was in fact exclusively moral; for neither did their service offer to the multitude any thing that could flatter the senses, nor were they calculated to attract men to them by mildness or indulgence. On the contrary they scared away, by severity and stern earnestness, all joy, even the most sinless; and deeply impressed with the sinfulness of man in general, they regarded life itself only as a penitential institution. Their sermons were discourses on penitence; their manners, stiff and cold, were as opposed to all that is agreeable in the world as to its sins. A holy reverence of the name of God animated all their actions, and conducted them back to the full severity of the Old Testament. Jehovah is represented as the God of wrathful justice; with this view they sought to introduce the Jewish celebration of the sabbath in all its unchristian severity; and such an

impression did they make by the earnest consistency of their whole existence, that the bishops, and at a later date King James himself, sought in vain to counteract them by the introduction of all sorts of frivolities on Sundays. It was, says Neal, the especial mark of a puritan in those times, that men saw him go twice a day to church with his Bible under his arm; and whilst others on the sabbath attended plays and farces, or junketings, or went out walking in the fields, or passed the time in bowling, fencing, &c., the puritans were occupied with their families in reading the holy scriptures, singing psalms, hearing the children the catechism, repeating to themselves the sermon, and praying; and this was not exclusively the work of the Sunday; they had also on week days their hours for family devotion; as they held it to be their duty to care as much for the souls as for the bodies of their servants. If in respect to their political opinions, they were regarded as dangerous citizens, still their enemies could not deny them certain citizen-like virtues of that kind which alone can found a well-regulated community. For they were quiet and industrious, conscientious in trade and barter, and exercised particular moderation in clothing, eating, and drinking. Ever ready to censure severely and loudly their neighbours, they yet demanded from others no self-denial which they themselves were not ready to practise; and their rude virtue only serve to form a happy counterpoise in an age when frivolity, laxity, and debauchery of every kind, had gained ground to an unheard-of extent.

A new danger threatened the church of England from an attempt of the discontented party to introduce the presbyterian church discipline, they having, in the

meantime, silently organized classes and synods; the church system of the Scotch served them as a model and without doubt they looked for favour from the Scottish king about to rule over them. Cartwright was at the head of these. But imprisonment was his reward, and narrowly escaped the doom of perpetual banishment.

During their severe treatment under Elizabeth's government, the puritans had looked with hope to her successor. King James had been educated in the most severe doctrines of Calvinism; sharpened and made gloomy by the influence of "Scotch air;" and no trace of his conduct had as yet revealed that he did not consider these doctrines to be correct, or was averse to their forms. In consideration of the opinions supposed to be held by the successor to the throne, the oppression of the puritans on the part of the worldly and spiritual authorities, had greatly given way in the last year of the old queen's life. For now lords as well as bishops feared the revenge of James. But his first step in England soon taught men, that the only form of religion which could please him, would be that which gave him undisputed power, and for the present this was that of the episcopal church in England; for only this assured him unlimited supremacy. Provided he could maintain this, he was quite disposed to reunite it with the Roman catholic church, and thereby, as he said in the speech with which he opened his first parliament, "to meet it half way." No bishops, no king, was the maxim which he from the very beginning announced in order to shew himself an impartial judge of the disputes between the protestant parties, when (with the unworthy, vain view of imposing at the same time on

his new subjects, with a display of his scholastic learning) he granted to the nonconformists,* a conference at Hampton Court, for the hearing and abolishing of their grievances.

There is no doubt that James, notwithstanding his frequent voluntary declarations of attachment to the church of Scotland, had come to England imbued with a deep hatred of the puritans, which he was determined to exercise against them; a thing he could not venture to do with their powerful Scotch brethren. This is clearly betrayed by his passionate words in the conference, when the puritanical clergy made a motion respecting the right of free meetings, and of forming synods among themselves. "Aha," said he, "I see clearly you are aiming at a Scotch presbytery; that suits with monarchy as God with the devil. Then shall Jack and Tom, and Will, and Dick, meet, and according to their fancy, insult me, my state council, and all that we do. Then shall Will put himself forth and say it shall be so, &c. *I remember well how they treated my poor lady mother in Scotland, and me in my minority.*" And in fact the remembrance of the church of Scotland in her first victory; of the outrages on the feelings of his mother by the first founders of that church; the abrupt and familiar treatment which he had himself experienced by virtue of their hierarchic, theocratic principles, could not be very favourable, and naturally made him disinclined to allow the puritans, with their inclina-

* Even on his way to London the Millenary petition was handed to him; which notwithstanding its name, was not signed by a 'thousand but only by eight hundred and twenty-five clergymen; besides this, a number of similar petitions were delivered to him the whole way along.—*Neal* ii. 31—2.

tion to democracy, to wrest a similar victory in England. But even presupposing the purity of his attachment to the Scotch presbyterian church, which led him to declare it to be, "the sincerest kirk in the world," and the Anglo episcopalian church service, "an ill said mass," the bishops had still between April, when he entered on the government of England, and October, when he arranged the conference for next January, (1604), time enough, to work him by flattering his high gifts, and by submitting to his kingly rights, to extirpate any sympathies he might have had for his former fellow believers.*

The conference at Hampton Court, which lasted three days, offers one of the most repulsive pictures of that time. An insipid, self-gratulating, despotic monarch ; a servile court ; a crowd of crafty prelates, alike ready to crouch at the feet of the mighty, or triumphantly to tread on the necks of the vanquished. The *puritan* preachers were astonished. *Four* in number, at their head Reynolds, one of the most *learned theologists* in England, against *eight* or *ten* eminent clergymen, among them several bishops, and having for spokesman the king himself, in the double character of administrator and umpire, surrounded by a resplendent court and state council. They defended themselves badly ; the king, applauded and laughed at by his court minions, drew them out and mocked them. He demanded not uniformity, but submission. In long speeches full of learned lumber, and thick sown with Latin phrases he endeavoured to show his learning, but only proved the

* James had moreover, three years previously, exposed his views of the presbyterian church system in a writing entitled, *Basilicon Doron*.

weakness of his mind, and his domineering, and hence unkingly, creed. "His majesty speaks under the especial influence of the Holy Ghost," cried the primate. Bancroft, bishop of London, fell on his knees and asserted, that "his heart melted for joy that God had given them such a king as had not been since the days of Christ." More and more puffed up, the king's dictatorial arrogance increased; "*I want a doctrine,*" he said, "*a discipline, a religion in being and in ceremonies; speak no further about it, inasmuch as ye must obey.*" He concluded with the assurance, "I will make them agree or I will drive them out of the country, or worse, hang them; that's the long and short of the matter." The result of this conference was a severe order to *enforce conformity*, to which the king recommended the bishops to leave the contumacious for some time; besides this some unimportant alterations were, at the king's command, made in the liturgy, in order to bring it in some degree nearer to the spirit of the puritans, without its having occurred to him to ask the parliament about it, or without its having occurred to parliament to raise up its voice against this act of authority.

After the death of Whitgift, which took place a little later, Bancroft became archbishop of Canterbury, and it seemed, as if under the rule of this stern unbending man, the cause of the puritans was to reach that crisis, which only forty years after came to an outbreak. To the punishment of nonconformity was now added complete *excommunication*, and in order, with devilish ingenuity, to torment the severely conscientious puritans, it was demanded on signing three of the most important

articles, that it should be done with the addition, "I, N. N., subscribe *willingly* and *exanimo* [from pure conviction]." Neither laymen nor clergy were spared; and it is said that in the year 1604 alone! 300 of the latter fell under punishment. But the more violent the storm, the more manly was the resistance. The cause of the high church was now more and more identified with that of the crown; and the opponents of the former were, in the well grounded opinion of the nation, become the only defenders of the liberty of the people*.

In a spiritual convocation all their rights were trodden underfoot by means of a string of "canons," whilst the king was elevated above law and parliament, and passive obedience declared to be the only duty of the subject. A war of opinion began, which separated all thinkers into two classes; the high church and the monarch on one side, and the puritans of the state as well as of the church, with the people, on the other. For so narrowly had during this time, the expositions of puritanism become interwoven with the dissemination of the rights of the people, that even those disciples of the high church who voted against the absolute despotism of the government, were called state puritans, to distinguish them from the puritans of the church. But the full outbreak of the fight was to be witnessed by another generation.

* Even Hume, who neither loved nor respected the puritans, acknowledges their services in the cause of English liberty, when he says; "so absolute was the authority of the crown, that the precious spark of liberty had been kindled and *was preserved by the puritans alone; and it was to this sect that the English owe the whole freedom of their constitution.* History of England, vol. v. p. 189, edition of 1768.

CHAPTER IV.

EARLY HISTORY OF THE FIRST SETTLERS IN NEW
ENGLAND. FROM 1602 TO 1620.

WE have now arrived at the period when the wanderings of the pilgrims began. Not without having first strengthened their political experience, and having steeled their christian virtues in the allied atmosphere of Dutch affairs, could they find in distant America a haven of repose, and a field for the dissemination of their religious and political opinions. They called themselves Pilgrims, the severe, pious men, and the first settlers in New England, who took up the staff in order to search out the land of promise, where they would be at liberty to worship God after those forms, which were alone in accordance with their ascetic minds, despising all sensual embellishment. As in their unheeded wanderings, the comparison with the children of Israel led by God, and standing under his especial protection, was pleasing to them as well as comforting, so we their descendants dwell with just pride on the precious origin of their existence, the only one thus established which history records, and the remembrance of the pilgrims, or pilgrim fathers as they love to call them, has in some measure generated that noble American pride, which every child of the free states receives as his best birthright; nay even those whom an enlightened age has elevated from out the narrow circle

of obstinate onesidedness ; some to bypaths ; some to higher views ; some to the same forms which drove away their forefathers ; think with joyful national feeling on the purely moral ground, on which they stand.

Already the diminished watchfulness of the latter years of Elizabeth's reign had permitted the severe disciples of Calvin, with whom we have become acquainted under the name of Brownists, or separatists, to form themselves into a community in the north of England ; where the counties of Nottingham, Lincoln, and York, join. In the year 1602 these brethren in creed concluded a solemn convention to honour God according to the primitive type of scripture, and to make this their sole guide in all things, and consequently in their civil and political constitution. Hence every thing was to be carefully cut away that had gained a footing in the church since the days of the apostles. It [the church] was with diligence and prayer to be brought back to the purity of the holy writings, and although disciples of the Genevese doctrine, they did not receive unconditionally any human authority, but on the contrary rightly considered themselves entitled to search further, provided the enlightenment of the mind, whether of a lay or churchman, were sought for solely in the holy writings ; and every other source despised. This was the chief basis on which their covenant rested ; the purely democratic peculiarities of their constitution seem to have been carried out at a later date in Holland, and they rejected the presbyterian constitution of their fellow believers in Scotland, which had been sanctioned by the other puritans, just as

decidedly as they did the episcopalian, and they declared every church community to be an independent and self-existent body.

Amidst the renewed storms under Bancroft, they could not fail of becoming an especial object of the persecutions of the high church. But under oppression and ill usage they grew and throve, so that in 1606, the increasing community saw itself compelled to divide into two parts. In the same year one of them sought and found, under the guidance of their pastor John Smith, a refuge in Amsterdam, and from thenceforth disappears almost entirely from the page of history;* and the other faced it out as long as possible in the mother country. At last, when more and more of their most esteemed members had been torn from the bosom of their families, and flung into prison, or if free were deprived of all means of honourably maintaining themselves and those dependant on them, they resolved to emigrate to Holland. Their spiritual shepherds were Clifton, who is represented as a venerable old man, with a long white beard, and in the time of his activity, possessed of the most beneficial influence, but now stricken in years, and John Robinson, called in history, the father of the Independents; we shall soon have occasion to say more of this distinguished man, the real stay and type of the community. At his side, aiding and assisting, stood William Brewster, whom we shall after-

* The said John Smith, after having, together with his community, fallen from one extravagance into another, turned at last to the doctrine of the Anabaptists, and as no one Anabaptist was there, who had the right to baptize him, he sprang into the river and baptized first himself and afterwards the others; whence he was called the Sea Baptist.

wards see, as ruling elder of the community, leading it into America, and closing his days in its bosom. He was a man of good education, and had more knowledge of the world than the others. Educated as a diplomatist under Davison, the secretary of state, he had seen the court of Elizabeth, and visited Holland on state business; the keys of Flushing were given up to him, and the states acknowledged his services by the present of a gold chain; when Davison, remorselessly sacrificed by the treacherous queen, fell into disgrace, Brewster was true to him; supported, as far as he could, his impoverished patron, and withdrew into the north of England, from all political business. For a long time, chiefly occupied with "the one thing needful," he here helped to form the quiet community, who mostly held their secret meetings in his roomy house, where his hospitality was wont to exercise itself on those who gathered together from far and near. It was this man, who now, when the oppression of the authorities seemed no longer bearable, and when the withdrawal of their much-loved spiritual food was threatened, helped his friend John Robinson to transfer the community to Holland.

This last consisted neither of beggars nor of people of rank; the greater number of the members were either small land owners, or farmers; for the most part ruined by long oppression, but in a position to support themselves in independence by their own exertions. Neither land nor crown would willingly spare such a number of useful citizens and taxable subjects.

Banishment was now the punishment of nonconformity; but a *voluntary* banishment was nevertheless

considered highly punishable by the authorities, and everything was done to prevent it. In 1607, a part of the community had hired a ship at Boston (in Lincolnshire, England,) to carry them over to Holland. "They had," says their historian, one of their companions, who, as eye-witness, reports their common sufferings, "arranged with the master of the ship for him to be ready on a certain day, and take up them and their goods at a fitting place, where they would consequently hold themselves in readiness. So after long waiting and great expense, although he did not keep the appointed day, he at last came and took them up in the middle of the night. But when he had them and their goods on board, he betrayed to the bailiffs and other officers, as he had previously arranged with these, who seized them, put them into open boats, robbed and plundered them; searching the men to their shirts to see if they had money, and examining the women more than decency allowed; then brought them back into the town, making them a spectacle and a wonder to the mob who pressed in on all sides to gape at them. After they had been deprived by the beadles of all their money and books, with much goods, they were brought before the authorities; messengers were sent off to announce the matter to the lords of the state council, and they were taken into custody. The authorities, it is true, showed themselves very complaisant where they could, but durst not let them go until the order came from the state council; the end of the matter was, that after they had been a month in arrest they were set at liberty; but seven of their most respectable men, William Brewster at the head, were kept in durance, and summoned before the assizes."

Sharper watched than ever by the eye of authority, the resolution to withdraw themselves from such oppression became only more firmly rooted. "In the following spring," continues the narration, "some of the same men, with others, made a fresh attempt to get over from a different place, and it so happened that they fell in with a Dutchman of Zealand, who was lying in his ship at Hull. They made an arrangement with him, hoping to find him truer than one of their own nation had been. He told them to take comfort, for that he would make all go smoothly. Between Grimsby and Hull stretched a vast heath, whither they directed him to go, and take them up; when the appointed time came, the women and children, together with the baggage, were sent to the place in a small bark which they had hired for the purpose; the men going on foot. But it happened that they arrived there a day before the ship came; the sea being rough, and some of the women sea-sick, they persuaded the skipper to run into a small bay close at hand, where at low water they were aground. Next morning the ship came, but they were all fast, and could not move the bark before midday. In the mean time the master of the ship, when he saw how things stood, sent his boat to fetch on board the men, whom he saw wandering up and down the shore, but scarcely was one boat load on board, and the boat ready to start for a second, when he (the master) saw a great troop of riders and men on foot, all armed with halberts, muskets, and other weapons,—for the country militia had been called out to seize them. Whereupon the Dutchman swore his national oath, 'Sakrament,' and as the wind was favourable, weighed anchor and set sail."

“ In the meantime the poor men on board were in the greatest tribulation about their wives and children, whom they saw taken in this way, and deprived of their mates, while they themselves were unprovided with the most necessary changes of dress, and indeed with scarcely anything beyond what they had on. Some had scarcely a penny in their pockets when they got on board the bark ; the tears rose into their eyes, and they would fain have given all they possessed to be on shore again. But all in vain ; there was no redress ; and they were obliged to part in this sorrowful plight, and then endure a fearful storm at sea. More than fourteen days elapsed before they reached the haven. During seven they saw neither sun, moon, nor stars, and were driven on the coast of Norway. The seamen often despaired, and once with fearful yells, gave up all for lost, as if the ship was already swallowed up in the ocean, and they were sinking without rescue. But when human hope and human aid failed, the strength and favour of the Lord came to the rescue ; for the ship righted again, and the seamen once more gained courage enough to guide it ; and did discretion allow me, I could here tell with what ardent prayers they called on God in this great need, and especially some of them, who did not even lose their presence of mind at the time when the water flowed into their ears and mouths, and the seamen cried, “ we sink ; we sink ;” but on the contrary still called out, (if not with a wonderful, yet with a high degree of faith in God,) “ Yet thou O Lord ! can’st save ! thou O Lord can’st save !” and similar words which I will not quote. *Here-upon*, not merely the ship began to mount, but the turbulence of the storm was quickly allayed ; their spirits

were filled with a comfort which passeth understanding, and they came safely into the appointed haven, where the people flocked in crowds to see them, full of amazement at their rescue, for the storm had been so long and severe that much damage had ensued, as the friends of the master told him, congratulating him at the same time."

The other men, who were in the greatest danger, had in the mean time sought to escape before the horsemen reached them ; only those remaining who could best assist the women. It was pitiful to see the painful position of these poor women ; the crying and screaming that resounded from all sides ; some on account of their husbands being carried away in the ships ; some because they did not know what was to become of their little ones, who cried and trembled from fear and cold. They were now seized and dragged from place to place, until at last people did not know what to do with them. For to throw so many wives with their innocent children into prison, for no other reason than that of having attempted to go with their husbands, seemed totally inadmissible. A cry arose on all sides against it. To send them home was as difficult, for, as they truly said, they had no home ; having sold their houses and given up their abodes. In short, after having been for a long time pushed about, and passed from one constable to another, men were glad enough to get rid of them under any pretence, but in the mean time the poor souls had suffered their full share of misery.

It was only in the course of the summer that they were able to rejoin their husbands, who, in the meantime, deprived of all necessities and full of anxiety for

their families, had passed a sorrowing time in Amsterdam. Robinson and Brewster saw the last of the fugitives pass over before they themselves left England. But their stay in Amsterdam was not long. For there existed here already, as we know, the separatist community who had fled hither in 1602, whose preachers were Johnson, once their enemy, though afterwards reclaimed by a writing of Barrow's and Ainsworth. The latter was one of their most esteemed schoolmen, and was called "the Rabbi of his age," on account of his perfect knowledge of Hebrew. Dissatisfaction had long existed in this community; the bigoted zeal of one party was especially directed against Johnson, and was actually seconded by his own father and brother. The causes of this dissatisfaction are too characteristic not to excuse some detail. Johnson had married the widow of a rich merchant, a lady who at the arrival of the fugitives in 1608, was described by their historian as "a worthy elderly dame; very modest in dress and manners, prompt at all good works, helping many, especially the poor, and an ornament to her class." This lady continued, after her second marriage, to wear the dress to which she had formerly been accustomed; to wit, whalebone gown, high heeled shoes, &c., as was the custom of that day. Now, although she never had dressed either "extravagantly or improperly," she showed herself willing as the wife of a pastor to simplify her dress as much as possible; but with all this she could not satisfy the zealots of her community, who insisted on all worldliness being sacrificed at the altar of the Lord, the scandalous disputes which thereupon ensued had torn the church, and brought it far and wide into evil repute.

John Smith also, who had settled here two years before, lived with his community at open variance with his elder sister. In order to avoid all danger of being entangled therein, Robinson, after a year's stay in Amsterdam, moved off together with his flock to Leyden. Here they lived eleven years in a complete harmony. Their enemies have reproached them with having had disputes with one another. But this rests on a mere calumny, or a confounding with the other separatist communities. For their peaceable behaviour we have the distinct testimony of the Leyden authorities, who reproachingly told the Walloons, "that these English have lived ten years among us and we have never had a complaint or grievance against them, or any one belonging to them, but your quarrellings and disputes have no end."

John Robinson, whom his contemporaries describe as a man "of learned, cultivated, and modest mind, pious and searching after truth, and richly endowed with those gifts and properties which fitted him to be the leader of this flock of Christ,"* soon won from the Dutch, that respect which he could rightly claim by reason of his character and learning. Courteous in his manners, good and unreserved, without selfishness, and endowed with good common sense, he had long been loved and revered as the father of his community, and the pillar on which all rested. Once, when the university arranged a controversy with Episcopius, the then head of the Armenians, he was appointed by the theologists, champion of orthodoxy. He only accepted this honour after

* Memorial, 18. Baylie also, the enemy of the Independents, calls him "the most learned, polished, and modest spirit that ever that sect enjoyed."

long hesitation, but was, at least in the opinion of his party, victor in three different contests. By careful study he had made himself fully acquainted with the doctrines of the opposite party, and had followed the disputes of the two renowned divines of Leyden, Polyander and Episcopius, through every shift and every labyrinth. Only the more strengthened thereby in his inward conviction, the exact acquaintance with the theories of the men of another opinion had still exercised some influence on his views. For in his earlier years his fiery zeal had carried him to all the eccentricity of a proud and hateful separatism, and like Brown at one time, he had declared all communion with the church of England to be sinful, and even scarcely allowed an approach to the creed of the continental reformers to be admissible. In several pamphlets he gave evidence of a bigoted one sided style of thinking, so pitifully characteristic of the best men of his time, which shunned no means of destroying an antagonist, in a manner worthy neither of the individual nor of the affair. But age and experience had tempered down the glowing fire to a beneficial warmth, which necessarily cleared his own mind, before this could impart a right fervour to others. A higher spirit breathes in a second apology for their church against the charge of narrow-hearted separatism, published by him shortly before the departure of the pilgrims from Leyden.* In the farewell address which he delivered to the wanderers at that painful meeting," which was to be the last in this world, his views appeared won-

* Already in the year 1610, he wrote a "Justification of the separation of the church of England," which is not to be confounded with the later Latin writing, first translated after his death: *Apologia justa et necessaria quorundam Christianorum æque contumeliose ac communiter dictorum*.

derfully purified, but tinged with petty school constraints and sectarian narrowness. After a long residence in the different reformed communities of Holland, and when increased knowledge of mankind had convinced him more and more of the weakness of all human authority, his mind became so enlightened that he was really in advance of his age.

"I call on you," he says in his exhortation, "before God and his angels, not to follow me further than I have followed Christ, and should God by means of any of his handy works reveal aught to you, to receive it as willingly as ye have received the truth through me. For the Lord has yet more light to unfold from his holy word." He exhibited to them as a warning, the example of the Lutherans; "they cannot be drawn away from the point which Luther saw, and whatever part of his word God might have revealed to Calvin, they had rather perish than receive it: even so the Calvinists, they remained sticking where he left them. Truly this is to be pitied, for although they were glorious shining lights in their time, yet hath God not unfolded his *whole* will to them. And did they now live, they would be willing to receive more light than was ever displayed to them."

Then he reminded them solemnly of their church covenant, by which they had pledged themselves to God and one another, to receive all that was revealed to them as the light and truth of God. At the same time he admonished them also to prove it well before receiving it, and to compare it with other (applicable) passages of Scripture; "for," said he, "it is not possible that the christian world can by one effort work its way out of anti-christian darkness, and be illuminated by perfect beauty."

Such a complete emancipation had never yet fallen to the lot of any christian community. It was the sober severe spirit, free from all wild dreaming; the inborn, English, practical sense of these men which kept them from misuse of it. We do not believe we err, in attributing to Robinson's influence, and to the enlightened principles he had imparted to them, the self-possession and moderation, the exemplary intellectual concord which reigned in the community of Plymouth; whilst the settlers who arrived somewhat later at Massachusetts Bay, and who belonged to a nominally milder class of puritans, at once broke out into religious disputes.

The Brownists, that is the real separatists, had in their spiritual darkness declared their church to be the only pure church of Christ; and even looked down with scornful pride on the severe communities of the Swiss Calvinists. Robinson, on the contrary, however one sided he may have thought in his youth, spoke, in riper years, very decidedly against this self elevation, and their defenders show that this community not only regarded themselves as essentially one with the French and German, but that they had also held communion with the Scots, (though not a communion of the best form) "*nay even with Lutherans,*" just as they had also been willing to communicate and to pray with blessed persons of the corrupted church of England. Their church constitution, the essential features of which had in 1680 served as a basis for Brown's community, was perfected in Holland. It was at a later period the model of all the congregational or independent churches of America, and has continued to exist the same in all essential points up to the present time. A short sketch of it will be necessary to explain many parts of this narrative.

We must premise that it harmonized with the churches of England and Scotland, in all points of belief, which it had received, in common, with them from the Calvinistic reformers. They accordingly adopted the doctrine of predestination and communion, in the sense of the Genevese church. As being human, they recognized the decisions of the councils as little as they did the sentences of the pope. The Scriptures were for them the sole basis, the only and perfect guide to faith, and to every individual was conceded the right to prove, to expound, and to *announce*. Their constitution was to approximate as nearly as possible to the church of the apostolic ages. Where a number of believers, not greater than could in brotherly wise watch and guard* one another, came together, they were to unite and form a community, only such should partake of the communion, and only those children should receive the holy baptism, who brought with them, on the part of their parents, a full belief in the revelation and doctrine of Christ as understood by the Calvinists, and promised to obey the statutes of the church. A public recognition of faith, deposited before the community, and an examination by it, at which every one who felt himself called upon to put a question was entitled to do so, preceded the admission of every member. Their community was an independent body, and entitled to choose its own church authorities.

These were, first, a pastor† and teaching elder, or it

* This watching and guarding made, and according to their laws still constitutes, one of the chief duties of the members of these pious communities.

† The duties of a teacher do not seem to have been always very distinctly separated from those of a pastor, some communities having one, some the other; only the prosperous had both.

had both. Secondly, a ruling elder. The latter had to manage the worldly concerns of the church besides assisting the pastor in all his duties, and representing him in his absence. This office is not temporary, as in the Dutch or French churches, but is permanent. But as he can at the same time have a business, he has no salary. The elders of both kinds constitute the presbytery. Thirdly, the deacons. These were not clergymen as in other churches, but laymen; they had to look after the poor, and above all to manage the possessions of the church; to collect for the pastor's salary, and to serve at the sacrament, that is to receive it from the hand of the clergyman, and to carry it to the partakers who remain sitting in their places. They were not required to give any account of money matters; at the beginning they had also deaconesses.†

None of these dignities conferred additional rank, and as little any official influence on other communities. Moreover, they were dependent on the community, all the members of which were brothers and sisters, and were elected by these through a majority of voices, they having all like rights. No kind of consecration, which men cannot give, took place at the initiation of a pastor, the laying of hands upon his head, which some holy brethren performed, was the sign, not of his being installed as a priest, but only as a preacher or teacher of a certain community. When released he returned to the private condition of a common Christian. The

* Bradford tells of an old widow who had filled the office of deaconess in one of the older separatists' communities of Amsterdam, and served it many years, although sixty when elected.

baptism was performed without signing the cross, for that is "idolatrous, and belongs to antichrist and Romish corruptions." A clergyman had nothing to do with marriages, it belonged to the authorities to bind. But he might, when requested, pronounce a prayer over the married pair. The sacrament was only to be distributed to members of the church, and after the example of Christ and the apostles, in the style of a meal. By kneeling, especially at the altar, it was supposed to be converted into a sacrifice. The elders were to say prayers in the public divine service and in families, but without prescribed form, and composed on the spur of the moment; and every one of the members was to use his gifts in prayer, and expositions of Scripture, that is, if he possessed any. Excommunication was only to be moral, he who had given offence was to be desired to quit the community. The brethren and sisters were to decide upon this, not the clergyman, who was considered as only the servant of the community. Neither the church nor her functionaries had the right of imposing secular punishment. The Sunday, which was always called the sabbath or Christian sabbath, for the name of Sunday was looked on as heathenish, and hence sinful, was the only holyday. It was the day of the Lord, and was kept holy after the manner of the old Testament. Besides this, feast days and days of thanksgiving were to be appointed.

Our English adventurers lived in Leyden nine or ten years in peace, but not contented. Their opponents reproach them with not having been able to support their quiet obscurity, and having longed for a splendid mar-

tyrdom. The accusation is false ; they could not expect, in the place to which they wended their way, either persecution or fame. They are perhaps judged with more impartiality by an excellent historian of our day, when he says that the consciousness of being able to play a more important part in the great drama of the world drove them out of Holland. Notwithstanding that they were treated in a friendly manner, and all due respect was shown them, they still felt, unmistakeably, that they were strangers. The moist, foggy climate of Holland did not at all suit the older members, and the most of them had been brought up as country people, while here they were obliged to submit to town manners and to practise town trades. Bradford, in England a cultivator of land, learnt the silk colouring to support himself. Brewster, the diplomatist, was a teacher of languages and pressman. The community had indeed greatly increased in course of time by the English who came over, but many had also returned home, because they could not support this life, where hard work scarcely procured them a miserable competence. Nay, according to the report of Bradford,* who, as has been previously mentioned, wrote the history of the sufferings of the community, there were among them some who preferred the prisons of England to the miserable life which Holland offered them.

* Ainsworth, one of the greatest of the puritanical schoolmen, who had emigrated some time previously and dwelt in Amsterdam, subsisted for some time on nine pence a week, together with some boiled roots. He at last obtained the place of porter to a bookseller, who accidentally discovered his knowledge of Hebrew, and procured him better employment. See also on the situation of the puritans in Leyden, "*Memoirs of the Pilgrims at Leyden*, by George Sunmer."—*Collections of the Historical Society of Massachusetts*, XXXIX.

But still we can scarcely suppose that the deprivation of all personal comfort had any influence upon their resolution to quit Holland, as we find them shortly after willingly submitting to much greater. What told powerfully upon them was the painful conviction that their young people growing up round them, were gradually losing all English character, and taking on the peculiar features of Holland; to which, as well as to the language, they had an unconquerable aversion. In short it was the fear of seeing Englishmen growing up Dutchmen. Their daughters married into families of the country; their sons went to sea in Dutch ships, or entered the Dutch army. They complained of the endless temptations to vice and debauchery offered to the young men, and it was pardonable that these appeared to them greater as outcasts, than they would have done at home. On Sundays they saw them, after the completion of the divine service, enjoying worldly pleasures, or, what they regarded as still more godless, continuing their usual occupations. For working on the Sabbath is much more strictly forbidden in the laws of Moses than play, walking, or dancing. Hence country and people seemed to them sunk into the slough of sin, and to screen their children from contamination appeared a Christian duty. Another motive was to extend the kingdom of the Lord among the heathen. Moreover the twelve years' truce with Spain was soon to expire, and they feared, with reason, to see the Netherlands again become the theatre of war. The idea of emigration was spoken of and discussed, first in family circles, then in the assemblies of the community. The Dutch, when they heard of it, sought to persuade them to go to one

of their settlements, especially that which they contemplated establishing on the Hudson, and made them the most liberal offers. But they wished to remain Englishmen, and to be again on good terms with the land that had expelled them. They wished even to belong to the king who had persecuted them and driven them away. So loyal was this race of Englishmen, whilst the next generation brought the head of his less guilty son to the scaffold !

This was in the year 1617, when the English had been ten years in possession of some small colonies in America. King James had drawn an imaginary double line through that immense part of America, which was not as yet taken possession of by the French ; and, as we have previously mentioned, had given both parts to two merchant societies to colonize and make use of. The society of Plymouth, to which North Virginia was allotted, after an attempt on the Kennebeck had failed, gave up for a considerable time all plans of colonization. The settlements of the South Virginian Society, for a long while dragged on a miserable existence. But for some time back, more important means had been at work to raise them up, when our Leyden friends began to brood over the plan of a new emigration, and after they had long hesitated between Guiana and Virginia, they finally decided for the latter.

Accordingly they sent to London two of their ablest men, Robert Cushman and John Carver, in order to treat with the company of Virginia. The deputies addressed themselves to Sir Edwin Sandys, one of the noblest and most liberal members of the society, who received them in the most gracious manner, while the

company showed themselves highly willing to receive them.

“We almost believe that the Lord is with us,” so wrote the pastor of the community in their name to Sir Edwin, “the Lord to whom we have entrusted ourselves, and who will graciously further our endeavours according to the innocence of our hearts. We are estranged from the sweet milk of the mother country, and hardened against sufferings abroad. The majority of our people are industrious and moderate, we believe we can safely say as much so as any people in the world. We are woven into one body by means of a strong holy bond and covenant of the Lord, which we dread to break, and by means of which we hold ourselves firmly pledged to care one for another, and each for the weal of the whole. Hence we are not as other men whom small things discourage, or small disappointments make shy or desirous to be at home.” They also sent to England an exposition of their church creed and church constitution, in order at once to remove any suspicion as to their being dangerous subjects to receive. But when one of the deputies asked Sir John Worstenholme, another influential member of the Virginian company, to whom this last paper was sent, if he might give his Leyden friends good news; he answered, “Very good, for the king’s majesty and the bishops have consented,” but he added, “I shall take good care nevertheless not to show one of your letters, as they would spoil all.

For the king’s dislike to the puritans and their spiritual doctrines had risen higher than ever, and he lost no opportunity of expressing it in public speeches, or more actively still, by injurious regulations. No intercession

of influential patrons could procure for the Leyden exiles a formal assurance of toleration; all that they could obtain was a verbal promise, not to take any further notice of them so long as they led a peaceful life. Sir Edwin Sandys, who wished them well, had persuaded Sir Robert Nanton, one of the king's secretaries of state, and who was inclined somewhat to the religious belief of the separatists, to urge upon his lord at some favourable moment the cause of the Leydeners. Sir Robert took such an opportunity, and with great care showed how his loyal subjects, although well liked in Holland, still wished to return under his majesty's rule, and to augment his state in America, and there to spread the Scriptures among the heathen. "Now," said the king, "that is a good honest purpose, but how will they live there?" "By fishing," was the answer. "God be gracious to my soul," said the king, with one of his favourite oaths, "that is a right honest business, that was the calling of the apostles themselves." But when their protector again began to speak of it, he was told that they might confer about the matter with the bishop of London, and the archbishop of Canterbury. From him nothing further was to be expected than the promise he had given.

All who knew the state of matters counselled them against applying to the prelates, and the delegates returned sorrowfully back. A delay ensued, during which nearly a year passed away without their having got any nearer to the mark.

Notwithstanding this, they, after much holding of counsel, embraced the resolution of carrying out their plan, as this private promise of the king's appeared to

some of them to offer as much security as a formal assurance which could be broken at any time.

Nine agents were accordingly sent to London, in order to agree with the society of Virginia about the conditions. But this was already in the pangs of dissolution, as its end a few years after testified, and the confusion among their functionaries occasioned a new delay. At last, in September, 1620, exactly three years after the first commencement of the negotiations, they received a patent with the seal of the Virginia company.* But this afforded them nothing beyond the right of tilling the land, and the liberty of forming a state body; they themselves must look after the means. Not one of the community was rich; few were well off; the most poor. Accordingly deputies were again sent to London, in order to close a contract for transport with some merchants, members of the company. The conditions under which it was drawn up were hard beyond all belief, and only the yearning to arrive at the goal, roused into glowing impatience by long delay, can explain their acceptance of them. They were as follows.

The adventurers (capitalists) and settlers were for seven years to form a trading society in common; during which time all gain and profit from trade and work should be placed in one common fund, and the gains of

* This patent was made out in the name of John Wincob, a cavalier of the countess of Lincoln, who had resolved however to emigrate on account of his religious opinions, but at last did not accompany the party; so that, as the wanderers did not arrive at the place to which it referred, all the trouble taken to gain it was lost. The patent, on this account perhaps of little value, was lost before Hubbard wrote, in the middle of the seventeenth century; and hence it is not known what bounds were assigned to the planters.

every man, woman, and child, above sixteen years old included, should be reckoned at ten pounds; children between ten and sixteen years were to be reckoned at two for one person. He who provided himself with ten pounds whether in goods or money at double, (that is he was rated at twenty pounds). During these seven years all colonists were to be supported, and clothed at the general expense. At the end of that time all the profits were to be divided between the undertakers of the transport and the settlers, every ten pounds constituting a share, and those who joined the colony at a later date to receive in proportion. Children under ten years at the time of emigration could only claim fifty acres of land, and the claims of those who died in the mean time were to be transferred to their heirs, and reckoned by their time of life and service.

Here we see that the merchant who contributed £100 to the fitting out of the ships, received at the division ten times as much as he who had sacrificed his best powers during seven years. Well might the poor Leydeners be startled at first by such hard conditions! they endeavoured to insert a clause allowing them at least two days in the week to work for themselves; and that the partition at the end of the seven years of slavery should not include the houses they had built, and the fields they had tilled. But the merchants, who saw they were in necessity, and impatient, after so long a delay, to conclude their bargain, obstinately stipulated for these conditions, and attained their aim; although the head agent of the Leydeners did not escape the just reproaches of those who sent him.

The undertakers promised speedy preparation, and recommended all who were willing to go, to make them-

selves ready as soon as possible. A solemn prayer meeting was held in Leyden. Strengthened by an appropriate sermon from Robinson, they took their final resolution; the greater part could not make ready so soon, and it was arranged that they should remain under the pastor's care, while Brewster took over all such as could prepare at such short notice to Virginia, and there founded with them an independent community. The strongest and freshest then made ready to pave the way for the others. Robinson and the rest promised to follow as soon as possible.

Now the work went on quickly. He who had grounds or other property hastened to sell and deposit the net proceeds in a fund for purchasing provisions. A ship of 60, or, according to some, 70 tons, called the *Speedwell*, was bought in Holland; and a larger one of 180 tons, the *Mayflower*, was hired in England. The former was to remain at the colony. But here more time was spent than the wanderers had expected, who justly wished to carry out as quickly as possible the resolution they had taken, and characteristically strove to prepare themselves, as well by rules of wisdom, as by repeated days of fasting and prayer.

At length, July 21, 1620, the emigrants, accompanied by the greater part of their friends, went from Leyden to Delft, where the *Speedwell* waited for them in order to take them first of all to Southampton. Here they were to be joined by those who had preceded them to England, and the whole party was to be divided between the two ships. Many of their old friends had come with sad hearts from Amsterdam in order to see them depart. Until now exalted hope had lived in the minds of these

severely pious men and woman, who had been long accustomed to regard themselves as pilgrims on the earth, wandering on their way to the realms above, where the Lord hath built for the pious that city which is their only home. But now that the moment had come, human feelings gained the mastery. A sleepless night was passed in a cordial but tearful intercourse with their beloved friends, and when early next morning the tide which was to take the ship, summoned them to the last parting, such a heart-rending sobbing and crying broke forth, that many of the Dutchmen, who had assembled on the quay merely as spectators, could not keep from tears. Their spiritual father and leader sunk on his knees on the beach, and with streaming cheeks and breaking voice, recommended in a burning prayer the departing ones to the blessing of God. This was the last view; a favourable wind soon brought them to Southampton, where their friends had waited seven days for them. The Mayflower was also ready. Nevertheless ten or twelve days passed away before they had taken possession of their respective places in the ships, and supplied themselves with the necessary provisions, and, with the assent of the masters of the ships, chosen a governor and assistants for each section, to superintend these arrangements. A rich merchant, called Weston, one of the principal undertakers, and who ventured a very considerable capital, came from London, in order to see them set sail. In the mean time came letters from Robinson which were read aloud, and which, besides admonishing to a godly life, contained many wise injunctions, and imperatively pressed them to render obedience and respect to the authorities whom they

chose. At length, August 5th, they set sail, 120 * in number.

But now new obstacles awaited them. They had scarcely left the harbour before the master found out that the ships wanted some slight repairs. Both vessels ran into Dartmouth, and there lost eight days of valuable time, before they could again put to sea. Now at length they hoped to find themselves on an unimpeded road to their goal. But fortune ordered it otherwise, for on the ninth day, the master of the *Speedwell* complained that the ship was again leaky and that they must put back or sink. Both ships then went back to Plymouth, but one part of the society was quite depressed by such sad and ominous prospects. On overhauling the ship, nothing was found amiss, and the wanderers were further strengthened in the suspicion that the master had not acted honestly with them, and in conjunction with the crew, to whom he had pledged himself to stay a year in America, had, as the matter was now grown disagreeable to them, so managed the matter. Vexed but resolute, they dissolved the contract. Nineteen emigrants returned to London, among them Cusman and his family; the rest were taken on board the larger ship with what provisions they could carry away, and thus for the third time they left the shores of their fatherland.

* That is, emigrants, the sailors not being comprised.

CHAPTER V.

ARRIVAL AND TREATY OF THE SETTLERS. FOUNDING
OF NEW PLYMOUTH. FIRST INTERCOURSE WITH THE
NATIVES, 1620 AND 1621.

THE goal of the pilgrims was the mouth of the Hudson. Shortly before their departure, the company of Plymouth had good hopes of receiving that comprehensive patent which was to assure them the exclusive possession of New England, and the sole right of trading on its coasts. Weston and some other chief undertakers accordingly proposed to the wanderers, rather to take at once the way to this land, where greater trading advantages would accrue to them. But the climate could have but little attractions for the pilgrims; the canvassing for a new patent with the society of Plymouth had only occasioned fresh delays; moreover worldly profit was not in the least degree comprised in their views of a future home, consequently the proposition had no effect with them. Nevertheless the hand of God led them, against their wishes, to this goal, to which they had not turned their thoughts. Without doubt it was better for them. For although a milder climate and a more fruitful soil would have more favoured a settlement on the Hudson, it would there have been impossible to avoid a hostile rivalry with the Dutch, who, ever since 1613, had been building huts on its banks, and contemplated still greater plans. Again, the land was tenanted by

many warlike races of Indians, against whom their little band would have been of small avail, whilst, as we shall shortly see, the place whither chance led them had lately been freed from the aborigines by a plague, which had carried them off, and hence they had no claims to dread from that quarter. But heaven ordained that there should be no want of difficulties and trials of another kind.

Notwithstanding their course lay to the south, the master stood towards the north. Unfavourable winds prevented them, often for days together, from leaving the place; storms drove them in an adverse direction and shattered and injured the vessels. Where there were so many women and children, there could be no want of infirmity and sickness. For among the emigrants there were only seventy-four men. Eighteen of them brought with them their wives, some grown up daughters and female servants; the children were very numerous. The wife of Stephen Hopkins was delivered at sea of a boy called Oceanus. A young man, servant of Dr. Fuller, their physician, died. They were two months and three days at sea without seeing land. At length, on the ninth of November, at day break, they descried Cape Cod, discovered by Captain Gosnold in 1602, and so called on account of the number of stockfish, and which had since then been repeatedly touched at by fishing ships, and was known to them by John Smith's chart. They now saw their error and steered towards the south, but in the course of the day they came among so many shallows and breakers, that they found themselves in the greatest danger, and after laying to for the night tired

with the continued difficulties, they ran, driven by the wind, into the harbour of Cape Cod.

The shores of this bay, now almost stripped of trees, were then thickly set with oaks, firs, junipers, and wild vines, and in spite of their being clothed in the garb of a fast fleeting autumn, smiled on the weary, rest-seeking wanderers. The eleventh of November, a Saturday, arrived before they could find a place to cast anchor. The first thing they did, as soon as the ship lay to, was to sink down on their knees and offer up fervent thanks to heaven. But at the same time worldly matters were not forgotten. A discontented, unquiet spirit had been visible from time to time among some of them. It was indisputably necessary to come to an understanding for the sake of harmony and order, and to give the constitution and form of a self-supporting body to their community, small in number but strong in will. The heads of the community, but so only through superiority of mind and character, for in rank all were alike, met together and drew up the following writing, which was willingly subscribed by all the seventy-four men.

“ In the name of God, Amen. We, the undersigned, true subjects of our dread ruler, king James, who have undertaken this journey for the glory of God, and the furtherance of the Christian faith, as well as for the honor of our king and country, to plant the first colony in the northern parts of Virginia, unite and bind ourselves by the present act, mutually and most solemnly in the presence of God and one another to a civic state body, to our better ordering, and to the upholding and furthering of the above named aims; and by virtue of this, from time to time, to arrange, lay down, and

introduce such right and reasonable ordinations, resolutions, constitutions, and offices, as shall be found fitted for the general good of the settlement. To which we promise all due submission and obedience."

Thus then the cabin of the *Mayflower* became the birth-place of the first democratic constitutional diploma of the future free states, and which is yet regarded with joyful pride by their latest descendants, as the groundwork of their freedom and independence. The middle ages, as Bancroft remarks, witnessed many charters and constitutions, but they were only treaties for immunities, partial freedoms, patents of nobility, and grants of civic privileges, or restrictions of the sovereign power, for the benefit of feudal institutions. In the cabin of the *Mayflower* humanity again received her rights, and founded a government based on like rights and laws for the general weal.

Hereupon John Carver was with one voice appointed governor for the first year. Carver was a man who, by wisdom, honesty, and firmness, had won the confidence of the society. He had possessed property in England, but had sacrificed it entirely for the benefit of the two emigrations of the community, and he sacrificed to it more than gold. When at a later period, the strangers were so fearfully visited by sickness and suffering, his good temper and pious humanity made him, in spite of his superiority, the most active and cherished nurse, and the diaries of his comrades relate of him that he was not ashamed of the lowest services, till after a short time his efforts and the climate told upon his health.

On the self same day, fifteen or sixteen well armed

men were sent on shore to bring wood, of which they had run short, and to search the banks. They however found all waste and free from human beings, and brought back in the evening no very encouraging tidings. The following day was Sunday, and it was quite in consonance with their character, that though they anxiously longed to be on shore, and feel the ground after a passage of sixty-seven days, they still remained quiet in the ship, and assembled for the sabbath devotion. But on Monday, all took to the shore, especially the women, who wanted to wash. The weather however was rough and wet. Not only the ship lay three-quarters of a mile off, but the boat could not come within bow-shot of the shore, and wading through the water gave nearly all of them severe colds. Many a one laid here the seeds of an early death.

The question now arose, if this place were proper for a settlement. A good harbour, the countless number of whales which played about them, and promised a rich yearly harvest, seemed to speak for it. They regretted much not having here the necessary implements, for, according to the opinion of the master, who was well skilled in such matters, they could have made £3,000 to £4,000 a year by the oil. But what recommended this particularly, was their earnest desire to be at their goal in this melancholy season. On the other side, the place was not very suitable; the seamen spoke of better harbours, and they also believed they had seen a river on entering the bay, which perhaps offered more inviting shores, and then, looking at the matter in every light, it did not seem necessary to be over-hasty, perhaps only to break up again. Hence it was resolved,

before coming to a decision, to make some voyages of discovery. But the sloop was injured, the carpenter promised to have it ready again in six days, instead of which, fourteen and more passed. In the meantime it seemed impossible to lie idle, and some courageous men resolved to penetrate further into the country.

Their leader was Miles Standish. This man, though of middle years, had fought as officer in the Netherlands, and was of such a little contemptible shape, that a brother passenger pointed him out as Captain Shrimp; but being possessed of the most undaunted determination, and heroic spirit, he long remained the knight of the colony. Of impetuous spirit, he was yet cool in danger, and everywhere when warlike deeds were to be done, it was an understood thing that he was to lead. His attachment to the wanderers, which never underwent the least abatement, had something mysterious in it. He had become acquainted with, and attached to, the community in Leyden. But at setting out he was not really a member, and in the course of their long and intimate intercourse, he never seems to have joined their church. Nevertheless, he must have approved of their maxims, when he, a man of noble family, and not without good prospects at home, staked life and blood to procure them a home. He enjoyed moreover the most unbounded confidence. Always in possession of some authority, he was in his later days elevated to be their treasurer, and it was always acknowledged, with thankful hearts, that to him alone they owed their preservation.

* He died in 1656, "at an advanced age," and must consequently have been, at the time of arrival there, between thirty and forty.

This hero, accompanied by sixteen men, among them Bradford and Hopkins, roved about the country for some days, but could discover nothing that gave them hopes. Some Indians who saw them, fled from fear. They found here no houses, but several baskets, full of Indian corn or maize. These they took with them, purposing to make them good again. They also found the remains of a fort, which seemed to have been built by Europeans. Except these, nothing but graves; and when at last the sloop was ready, a three days' excursion had had just as little result. The weather was frightful; it snowed and froze incessantly. Notwithstanding, twenty-four of the emigrants and the master took the way. Even in this state of anxious excitement, the greatest difficulties seemed preferable to a total failure. But this journey was dangerous to many, to some fatal in its results. They visited nearly the same ground on which the other wanderers had been: namely the shores of the river Pamet in Truro, on the extremity of Cape Cod; the mouth they called, with a painful feeling of the principal impression made on them, Cold Harbour. In the wood they discovered two forsaken wigwams, but which apparently had been quitted only a short time previously, and also several baskets of cane and beans, and a flask of oil buried in sand. The first they took with them to sow at the approach of spring, but also, with the intention of restoring it, which six months after they punctually fulfilled. Besides this, they came into a field full of graves, and digging in the snow and sand, they found all sorts of tools and ornaments, which seemed to have been buried with the dead. Many tokens indicated that this land had once been

trodden by the foot of the European, and they afterwards learnt that a French ship had some years previously been wrecked here.

Three or four days they roved about in the woodlands of the dreary promontory, always hoping to discover something cheering. At last, weary with climbing up and down the snow clad hills, and housing in the cold, wet winter evenings in the open air, sheltered only by the half frozen firs, they returned (Dec. 1st) deeply depressed to the ship. Here a newly arrived stranger awaited them. Mrs. Susanna White had in the mean time been delivered of a boy, who was called Peregrine, and who, from being the first child born in the new fatherland, obtained a sort of fame among his descendants, and even forty-seven years after, received for this particular merit a present from the legislature of 200 acres, and what is more in this land of movement, his descendants are still living in the same district and boast of their origin, which as it were gave their ancestors first the right on the honoured land of liberty.*

But for this one on whom the light of a new world smiled, there were many for whom it was extinguished. The diaries of December, kept by many of the chief settlers with the greatest conscientiousness, began again to report deaths. Not a day which is not indicated by some painful separation. Carver lost a young son. Another emigrant, Chilton, left behind a widow and orphan daughter. The most of them were ill; the

* If there are any inhabitants of the United States, who especially cleave to the sod, they are the descendants of the first settlers of New Plymouth. Descendants of nearly every one of those who left any family at all are to be found in the neighbourhood of Plymouth.

necessity of finding a haven of repose became constantly more urgent. On the 16th, the most vigorous, Carver, Bradford, Winslow, and above all Captain Standish, eighteen in all seamen included, started anew. The day after their departure, Dorothy the wife of Bradford fell overboard and was drowned, and we find this misfortune so cursorily noticed that we may conclude how familiar the image of death had become to the pious emigrants in these days of severe trial.

The plan was this time to sail round the bay. In the evening they arrived at the south east shore, the present Eastham. From the boat they saw a great body of Indians busy cutting up a grampus; with great difficulty they found a landing place among the shallows. The cold had now become greater than they had ever experienced. Their clothes stiff frozen on them were as rigid as iron, and were with difficulty thawed by the fire which they kindled in a sort of hut, constructed with great labour and intended for night quarters on the shore. The next morning they parted into two companies, eight skirted about the shores in the sloop, the others penetrated into the country, and again found nothing but graves and wasted deserted huts. No human being was there. Night again brought the friends together, and the trouble they had had on the preceding evening to procure themselves a miserable dwelling, was again endured a few miles from yesterday's landing place.

On the third morning they prepared by day break, but had scarcely finished their morning prayer, before they were surprised by a loud strange yell. "Indians! Indians!" cried one of the party, and already the arrows flew around them. They immediately seized their guns,

a few shots set the Indians in full flight, not one Englishman being wounded. They gathered the arrows that lay scattered on the ground, and afterwards sent home by the Mayflower a number to their friends as a remarkable curiosity. But the first thing they did was to thank God that they had overcome the danger, and to name the place "The First Encounter."

The pilot, who accompanied them and who had been here before perhaps with Smith or Hunt, had told them of a good harbour in this bay, and which they wished to arrive at. They had travelled fifteen miles along the shore without seeing anything that could give them hopes. Then it began to rain and snow violently, a strong wind rose and broke the rudder, the sea ran high, and in the evening the wind rose to such a degree that the mast was split and the sails were carried overboard, exposing them to all the fury of the waves. The north-east wind drove them into a small bay which they believed to be the wished-for harbour. Just then the pilot, bereft of all self-possession, cried out, "God be merciful to us, I have never seen this place!" They would have been lost among the shallows, had not one of the steersmen called to the rowers to put the ship about as quickly as possible, and brought it again into the open bay. In the dark and amid a furious rain they arrived at a place where a landing seemed practicable. The wish to dry themselves by the fire they had lighted with such trouble made them forget the danger of falling into the hands of savages, and thus they spent the fearful night.

Next morning they found that they had got upon a little island which they called Clarke's Island, in honor

of Clarke the steersman who had first set foot on it, and this name it still bears. Clarke afterwards settled among them. Great efforts were always made to attain this kind of honor of first setting foot on, and giving a name to, a spot. A young man, Edward Dotey, in the service of Hopkins, wanted to spring on shore but was held back, with the severe reproach that he wanted to claim an honor he had no right to. The cliffs of this bay, on which the night previous they had been so nearly wrecked, were called Garnet's Nose, and in course of time a lighthouse was erected on them to prevent similar dangers.

The day passed away in searching the island, which they found uninhabited, and in drying their clothes and repairing their weapons. Opposite them lay the continent, and who can doubt their anxiety to reach it and ascertain the possibility of making a settlement? But the next day was the sabbath, and they would have dreaded to insult God by taking advantage for earthly purposes of the returning bright sky. In the feeling that they had now more need than ever of God's assistance, they curbed their impatient hearts, and combated as far as was possible all thoughts of worldly plans and advantages, allowed no conversation about them, and devoted the whole day to prayer and reading the holy Scriptures. Facts of this kind are too characteristic of the times and men not to be admissible in detail.

Early in the morning of the 11th December, they examined the harbour which they found navigable, and the shores, in which they discovered with joy corn fields and flowing streams, with sweet water of a pleasant taste. It did not seem advisable in this advanced season of the

year to seek further after a spot for settlement. They accordingly returned, without delay, to the ship, where the news awakened great joy. This day, Dec. 11th, old style, 22nd new style, is still celebrated in the United States as the day of the landing of the pilgrims. Songs, speeches, parties, excursions, illustrate it, and perhaps on no day of the year, if we except the 4th of July, has the proud American a better opportunity of displaying the endless advantages which he, according to his never swerving conviction, enjoys above all nations of the earth, freedom, independence, strong religious sense and expanded intellect !

The 15th of December the ship entered the longed-for haven, and a few days after, they had agreed about the place of settlement, for which they chose an elevated piece of ground that had once been built on. A fort was to be raised on a hill high at hand overlooking the bay. They now went to work, and wood was felled and prepared, in order first of all to build a general meeting and storing house, wherein one party housed for the night whilst the other returned to the ship. The seamen helped them greatly, though like the settlers few of them were well. Of the latter, some died before the end of this month, and of the seamen only the half ever lived to return to England, whither the ships went in the April following. Alarmed, but not checked, from time to time by the wild cry of the Indians, whose abiding places, they recognized by the distant smoke, they securely finished their store house, brought thither their goods from the ship, and divided the ground into nineteen parts, separating themselves at the same time into as many families; and adding for the better pre-

servation of morals the single persons to the families. Every one was to build his own house on a spot decided by drawing lots. In memory of the last spot they had quitted in England, and out of gratitude for the friendship they had received from its inhabitants, they named the town which was to be erected New Plymouth*, and concluded the year 1620 with a zealous celebration of the sabbath.

William Bradford, to whom we owe the most accurate accounts of this period, closes the first part of his diary with this sabbath, in order to begin a new one with the 1st of January ; indeed, the first settlers date their life in America from this point of time, but it is mere chance that it falls on the 1st of January, with which the new year begins, according to our ideas. For by the old style, which was then employed in all protestant nations, and by the English till a later period of the eighteenth century, the year began with the 25th of March, a difference which, as is well known, has caused confusion enough to modern readers.

The wanderers passed the next three months under unspeakable difficulties, and more than half of January elapsed before all could find housing, or even sleeping room on shore. The work and building could only go on slowly, for most of the workers were ill, and the healthy weakened by severe exertion. Moreover, but few of them were accustomed to hard work, however willing

* Captain John Smith had also marked on his map as New Plymouth a spot on the same coast, and nearly in the same place, which was called by the Indians Accomack. Gosnold had also called his unfortunate settlement on Elizabeth Island by the same name, — both in honor of their patrons.

they were, now that necessity urged them, to try their best. One after another gave way. The greater part were certainly young, vigorous men. William Bradford was not yet thirty-two; Edward Winslow was twenty-six; Howland, betrothed to Carver's daughter, and Alden were young; others, as Standish, Allerton, and Hopkins, were of middle age. But among them were also some aged men; Carver was in years, and the venerable Brewster verging upon hoar old age. Nevertheless, it was he and Standish who, for a long time, had to take care of all the others; the convalescents, wearily dragging themselves along, had scarce strength enough to bury the dead. They were shovelled into the sand on the sea shore, and every trace of a grave carefully obliterated, that the Indians might not come and mutilate the corpses.* A number of young women well brought up and accustomed, if not to the luxuries of high life, yet still to the comforts of the middle station, were carried off during these three months. In the space of a few weeks, Standish, Allerton, and Winslow lost their wives. But the life of a weakly woman is little where a state is to be founded and a church built; there the wise counsel and strong arm of man are alone of service. The existence of woman only becomes valuable when her social spirit is ennobled, and her domestic being regulated by civil-

* On the declivity of a hill called Cole's Hill, directly over the place where they had landed, and close to their first settlement. According to others, they levelled the ground, and sowed it, in order to conceal from the Indians the multitude of deaths and the decrease in their own numbers. Men of the present generation still remember that from time to time the bones were washed away from the beach by the waves.

ization. Besides the belief that only love to the *Creator* sanctifies the heart, that the strong, warm love to the created thing has something sinful in it, excludes all *individual love*, and if any trace of it still lurks in the soul of a genuine severe puritan, it can only be excused, at best, as human weakness, and the pang of sorrow for the loved one who is lost for ever, is only justified by the recollection "that Jesus also wept." To find another godly spouse among the remaining Christian widows and virgins was the urgent care of the widowed men. Edward Winslow, six weeks after the death of his wife Elizabeth, whom he had wedded in Holland, married the mother of little Peregrine White, who only became a widow ten weeks previously, and who, in such a wilderness might well feel a longing to find another protector for herself and a father for her orphan.

This marriage is marked as the first in the colony. Standish, it appears, would gladly have taken precedence in this. For we are told that he strove after Priscilla Mullins, and her father is also mentioned in the affair. Now, as Rose Standish died on the 29th of January, and William Mullins the 21st of February, scarcely fourteen days can have elapsed between his becoming a widower and his wooing again. Priscilla seems however to have had enough virgin feeling, to feel herself injured by it. For when John Alden, a fine blooming young man, who was sent by the gallant captain to ask the bride in marriage, had delivered in his proposal in the presence of her father, she remained some time silent, and, at length, eyeing him archly, said, "But, John, why do you not rather speak for yourself?" a hint which John did not require to be repeated, though

he afterwards became one of the most severe puritans.* By this, he is said to have converted Standish into a mortal enemy, albeit the union of their children would seem to indicate the contrary. Standish moreover found a spouse among the new arrivals, and in 1623, we find him again mentioned as being married. Allerton and Bradford also repaired their losses within a short time.

But death did not confine its ravages to the women alone. The young, strong men were carried off in the greatest number perhaps, because they exposed themselves the most of all. The principal malady was scrofula. At the end of March only fifty-five remained of the 100 who had arrived.

Misfortunes of another kind were not wanting. They had scarcely finished their common hall when it was burned down. With great labour they rescued the goods and beds which had been piled up there. Some of the settlers, urged inland by the wish to discover something favourable, lost themselves for days in the woods, and awakened the anxiety of their friends. The wolves they saw there, were taken by them, who had never before seen any, for lions; and the accounts given of them were heard with awe. They could never bring to a stand any of the Indians, whom from time to time they saw at a distance, for they fled as soon as approached, and deep melancholy preyed on every mind. Thus bereft of counsel and consolation in a strange and deserted land, only their firm faith and devotion to the inscrutable decree of the Lord could preserve them.

* If there be any authority for the tradition that John Alden carried home Priscilla, for want of a horse, on an ox, which he led by a string fastened to a ring in its nose, he must have waited long and patiently, for horned cattle were only introduced some years after.

The 1st of March had brought better weather, the air of spring and the song of the birds in the woods revived them. Then came all at once a vigorous Indian armed with bow and arrow, who made straight up to the common hall, and saluted them in English with the words, "Welcome Englishmen." Their astonishment and joy were equally great. He was a sagamore from the north countries, who had learned some broken English from the fishers and skippers at Monhiggon, an island near the coast of Maine, where they had their head-station. For the last eight months he had been among some neighbouring tribes, and bore the name of Samoset. He was the first Indian who had approached them, or from whom they could gain any intelligence, and as one may easily imagine, there was no lack of hospitality on their part. From him they learned that the race inhabiting Cape Cod, and with whom they had the encounter, were called Nausetts, that they hated the English on account of the crime committed by captain Hunt, and had shortly before slain several of them. These were, without doubt, fishers who had come hither from Monhiggon. Perhaps his news also related to the events which occurred under captain Dermer. They heard, however, a better account of their chosen place of abode, which secured them an undisputed right of possession. The place, according to him, and confirmed by all later accounts, was called Patupet; four years previously a plague had raged here which had extirpated the entire race, so that nothing human remained alive. Now for the first time they comprehended the waste state of the country, and the great number of burying places.

This was the commencement of a brisk intercourse, and, at last, led to such an influx of Indians, that the settlers, wearied by their curiosity, and disturbed in their work, were soon obliged to set bounds to it. Samoset however brought with him a friend, whose acquaintance proved of the greatest value. This was Squanto, (Tisquantum), a Pokanokit, of the race of Patupet, and the only one remaining; he was the same man who had been carried off prisoner by Hunt, and had, at his return, by his warm intercession, saved Dermer's life. During a stay of some years in England, he had learned enough of the language to make himself intelligible without trouble, and became afterwards their interpreter; which was to them an inestimable advantage. He came as messenger of Massasoit, the sagamore, or chief of the nearest Indian tribe. Immediately after this, "the king" himself appeared on the nearest hill, but though at the head of sixty men he did not venture nearer, till Edward Winslow was sent to meet him, and remained during the visit as hostage with the chief's brother Quadequima.

He then came with twenty men, who left their bows and arrows behind, and was received by Standish and six musketeers with military honors. The solemn reception of this king in a house where the green cloth and cushions were arranged for the occasion, until the governor appeared accompanied by drums, trumpets, and musketeers, has in it something unspeakably comie, whilst John Carver kissed the chief's hand, and he John's cheek. The Indian thus unexpectedly honored, shook with fright from head to foot, and when a glass of brandy was offered as a sign of hospitality, he took

such a hearty pull at it that he immediately broke out into a violent perspiration, and scarcely knew how to contain the agony of fear he was in. In the meantime, with Squanto's help, a treaty was soon brought about, by which both parties reciprocally bound themselves to friendship and mutual assistance, delivering up of criminals, &c. ; it was also stipulated that at mutual visits the weapons should be laid aside. For more than fifty years this treaty was honourably maintained.

The tribe of Indians, of which Massasoit was chief, dwelt about forty miles west of Plymouth, in Lowams, now Bristol, in the state of Rhode Island, round about a mountain, which was called by the natives Montaup, which the English, from the natural wish of man to adapt foreign words to his own mouth and ideas, converted into Mount Hope. This race of Indians bore the singular name of Wampanoges, and was a branch of the Pokanokets, a nation which had some further subdivisions, and several "sachems or chiefs." They were all under the rule of our Wampanoge friend, Massasoit, who was consequently a person of great importance among his people. He is described as a man of stately appearance, and very earnest look. In order to produce an impression on the English, he and his attendants had painted and smeared themselves with as many colours as possible. In some places their visages shone with fat, in others they were not to be recognized for the dirty red stripes they had laid on them. So that it was excusable in the governor to prefer kissing the hand to the cheek. The cause which now made him seek the friendship of the English was that he was threatened by his neighbours, the Narragansetts, and wished to secure

the assistance of the powerful strangers. Here we may as well at once introduce to the reader those Indian nations with whom the settlers came in contact in the course of the first fifty years, and who, at their arrival, tenanted the future New England.

Five allied nations are to be distinguished; each consisting of different small tribes with one ruler. They were—First, the Pokanokets, who dwelt on the peninsula which forms the bay of Cape Cod, and on a small part of Rhode Island, (the rest being tenanted as above mentioned, by the Wampanoges, of whom Massasoit was prince); also the islands of Martha's Vineyard, and Nantucket. A desolating plague had a short time before carried off whole races, and greatly weakened the surviving ones, clearing entire districts for the strangers.

Secondly, the Narragansetts, who dwelt to the west of them in Rhode Island. Their rulers were Canonicus, (the English at once twisted his Indian name into this allied Latin one,) and his nephew Miantonomo. Both play no trifling part in the history of New England, and the latter fell a victim to his hatred of the intruders, and to their superiority. Deeper inland, in the present Connecticut, especially in the south-east part, dwelt—

Thirdly, the tribes of Connecticut, among whom the warlike Pequodees, in the south-east part of the north shore of the sound of Long Island, and the Mohicans, are especially to be remarked; the latter, spread over the whole district between the Connecticut and the Hudson, and once it would seem as far as Albany, had been frequently conquered by the Pequodees, and were now under their rule.

Fourthly, the Massachusetts. At the arrival of the settlers, their common chief Nanepashemet, called the New Moon, whose seat was at Medford, close to Boston, had just died ; and it does not seem that the vacancy was filled at the time when the English settled there. The numerous chieftains of the separate races, among whom was also a woman, readily submitted to the powerful strangers ; and moreover a few years later a pest carried off the most of the race. According to Roger Williams, the first educated Englishman who learned the Indian languages, they derive the name Massachusetts from the blue mountains of their country, even now one of the most characteristic features of this state.

Fifthly, the Pawtucketts, in the north part of Massachusetts, and in the south part of New Hampshire, principally collected near the river Merrimack. Their chief was the grey headed Passaconaway, prince of the Penacooks, once a mighty powoh or conjurer, who mostly lived on tolerable terms with the colonists, and who, with a part of the nation, was converted by Elliot to Christianity.

To our settlers, the approach of such an exalted prince as Massasoit showed himself to be, was a real consolation in their sufferings. But the end of these had not arrived. On the 5th of April, the ship returned to England with the half of the seamen ; for while the other half found their graves here, the recovery of the living, who were almost all prostrated by the scurvy, had to be waited for before the departure was possible. On the same morning, Governor Carver came home from a field, where with Squanto's help all were busied

in planting corn, and on his return immediately lost all consciousness, and died in a few days. No stroke of ill-luck had so heavily affected the planting, for his sagacity and goodness had won unbounded confidence. The blow broke his widow's heart; in six weeks she followed him to his grave. It now appeared as if the severity of late had exhausted itself on the young settlement. From this time forth, we find not only for a long time no case of death marked down, (up to the close of the year, only four died besides Carver,) but the convalescent rapidly grew strong, and there was scarcely one of them who did not attain very long life. Howland was eighty; Brewster, eighty-four; Alden, eighty-eight; Clarke, ninety-eight.* Although severe times followed, and especially next year a want of provisions, which might almost be called a famine; yet the greatest difficulties were overcome, and the settlers, who relied on God's help and ever had his commandments before their eyes, approached the future with comforted minds.

For they had attained what they wanted; free exercise of their religion in a form which they believed to be alone acceptable to God. Hence it happened, that in spite of all trials and chastisements, for such alone they held their misery to be, there was not one of them who had repented of his resolution, or would have wil-

* "The same holds good of the three or four generations following. One of Carver's grandchildren, who was a hundred and two years old, worked (1775) at Marchfield in a field with his son, grandson, and great-grandson, whilst a babe of the fifth generation lay in a house nigh at hand." Belknap ii. 216. Among the settlers of Massachusetts, the same thing was observed, namely, that those who escaped the devastations of the first year, for the most part, attained great age.

lingly consented to return to England in the ship. The ardent morning prayer strengthened their minds for the labours of the day ; the lifting up of their souls to God, refreshed them at eventide after the conclusion of the day's work, and the common devotional exercises held under Brewster's direction in the meeting-house, knocked up out of rude posts, indemnified them on the sabbath for the grievance of the week. In the meantime William Bradford was chosen, in Carver's place, governor for the ensuing year, and Isaac Allerton to be his assistant. For a long time the yearly choice fell without any change on these men.

Bradford was a man of uncommon sagacity, but of a determination in the day of danger, which made him be regarded by his friends as one of their surest supports. His maxim was to treat the Indians with Christian amity, but at the same time to maintain the necessary superiority over them ; whilst he sought, before all things to prevent European weapons or powder being given them, and hence he was justly incensed at the very opposite conduct of the Massachusetts colony, of which we shall afterwards take notice. In his intercourse with the Indians, he observed the most scrupulous equity ; took not a foot of land without their consent, and by means of this, and the resolution with which he met their claims, he procured for the little band that followed him into the wilderness profound peace with the natives, which was first interrupted by becoming involved in the affairs of the other colonists. Bradford had been brought up as a husbandman ; but his mind turned to higher things, and in order to understand the holy writings and the works of the fathers of the

church, he had learnt Greek and Latin, and particularly Hebrew. For theology was the science of the age, and the mind of every thinker was especially directed towards it. He also spoke French and Dutch fluently; his diary and his letters show in every line an intelligent and pious man. When the wanderers left Amsterdam, he was scarcely twenty years old; he became their historian, their affairs were his; and he attached himself with the most affectionate veneration to their leader Robinson, for whose speedy arrival the whole community longed most earnestly.

At present it was his wish to support in the best manner possible a good understanding with the Indians. It was accordingly resolved to send Edward and Stephen Hopkins to Massasoit, in order to carry him some presents, and to examine the circumstances in which he could injure or benefit them. Squanto, who was mostly with them, was to act as their interpreter. When Massasoit had seen Winslow for the first time, he had wished to buy his sword, and one can thus imagine with what joy he now accepted as a present, a horseman's red coat, set with silver lace. The visit, however, was conducted to the satisfaction of all; on the way they were joyfully greeted by the few they met with in these deserted regions, and treated with all the hospitality which the poverty of the people permitted. Massasoit himself, the great king, was so ill provided with the means of receiving them, that in the course of one day and two nights, which they passed with him, he could only offer them one repast, consisting of two fishes just caught, and which had to be divided among forty persons. In spite of this he urged them to stay longer,

and exhausted himself in praise of his glory. "Am I not," said he, "Massasoit, the great king? Lord of all the people in Lowams, and in such a place, and in such?" naming nearly thirty, answered each time by an approaching yell of joy from his people. He promised the English exclusive trade, and begged of them to hinder the Narragansetts, his enemies and a powerful people not desolated by the plague which had destroyed his men, from driving a trade with the French. Almost famished, and quite disgusted with the dirt and horrible vermin of their night quarters, the messengers returned as quickly as possible to Plymouth, but resolved to maintain the union.

An opportunity was also soon found of making up a friendly intercourse with the Nawsetts, the inhabitants of the peninsula of Cape Cod, who had formerly treated them with such hospitality. A boy, Francis Billington, who had once occasioned them great terror by playing in the ship with some powder, lost himself in the wood, and after having nourished himself five days on berries, arrived among the Nawsetts, of which circumstance Massasoit informed the colonists. Glad of this opportunity, Bradford sent off ten men in the shallop to bring back the boy. They were well received, and presented the chieftains with a pair of knives; the men were at the same time commissioned to make good again the corn which they had found on their arrival, and this was punctually executed; so that the settlers could now stand with pure consciences before the natives, as their claim to the land of their deceased tenants was peaceably recognized.

Although this event strengthened their good under-

standing with the natives, they had yet at the same time to learn that they must atone by double conscientiousness for the sins of their countrymen. On the journey to the Nawsetts, they were friendlily invited on shore at Cummaquid, now Barnstable, and there courteously regaled by Lyanough, the chieftain of the race, a stately and amiable man. Then came a grey old woman, in appearance not less than a hundred years old, who, as soon as she saw them, broke out into passionate execrations, accompanied by piteous cries and tears. They heard that the three sons of this unhappy creature had been carried away by Hunt, and that she was now leading a joyless old age, without help or stay. The Englishmen were painfully affected; expressed aloud in the most decided manner their detestation of Hunt's doings, and assured them that no Indian need dread such treatment from them. By this, but still more by all sorts of small presents, they at last succeeded in appeasing the old woman in some degree.

Among the Nawsetts they heard that Massasoit had been attacked by the Naragansetts, which was confirmed; they also heard that a chief named Corbitant, who was subject to the former, had sought to excite the tribes against them. Squanto was sent off to negotiate a good understanding, but was seized by Corbitant, and Hobomak, a subject of Massasoit, who had settled among the English and showed them uncommon devotion, was threatened by him. But the colonists, however weak in number they were, and desirous of peace from inclination as well as necessity, felt that there security rested upon not giving way in any degree to the Indians. They accordingly sent off Standish with fourteen men,

nearly all of the community capable of bearing arms, against Corbitant, to set Squanto free. The chieftain fled, three of his men were wounded, and Squanto brought home in triumph.

The result of this expedition was a redoubled wish on the part of the Indians in the neighbourhood to maintain peace with the dangerous strangers. Nine chiefs showed themselves willing to subscribe a writing drawn up apparently by Standish, in which they acknowledged the supremacy of King James; among them were Corbitant, Obbatina a prince in the bay of Massachusetts, and Quadequina the brother and co-regent of Massasoit, in the name of the latter. Nevertheless they continued to hear of the hostile disposition of the Massachusetts, a union with whom, on account of the fur and fishing, was of the greatest importance to them. A friendly but armed embassy, which they sent off to Massachusetts Bay, succeeded in reconciling them for the present. They discovered a new country better cultivated and provided with fortified and castle-like houses, indicating a more active and warlike people. They returned to Plymouth richly laden with beaver skins, but with the wish that they had settled more inland, a wish which was ever and anon called up by the bad ground which surrounded them.

Yet the harvest was favourable to them; it brought fish, and wild fowl of all kinds; and trade, fishing, and hunting, but above all building houses, kept them constantly employed. By the close of the year they had finished seven dwelling houses, and four store houses and common halls; besides many of the former in different stages of erection. The society, led by the

governor and his assistants, but not acting in important matters without the general counsel of all the men, lived piously and peaceably with one another. Only twice were punishments deemed necessary. The first fell on John Billington, the father of the above mentioned boy, a reprobate who did not belong to the community, but had, at the especial recommendation of a patron, ventured to attach himself to it in London. In coarse terms he refused to obey Standish, who in all military matters stood at the head of the colony, and was thereupon sentenced to be bound neck and heels, but was pardoned on giving promise of repentance. A similar punishment was soon after awarded to two young men in the service of Stephen Hopkins, for having fought a duel; but on account of their contrition they were freed at the expiration of an hour.

In November they had the pleasure of seeing a ship arrive from the fatherland. It was the *Fortune* bringing thirty-five new settlers, mostly friends and relations. Among these was Robert Cushman, who brought them a new patent, obtained by the Society of Plymouth, somewhat more comprehensive than that they had taken with them, and which was now become useless*. Cushman only came as envoy of the adventurers, and returned with the ship; they were also able to send back this time plenty of skins and shingles, estimated by them at £500. But on her way home the vessel fell into the hands of the French, and thus all their labour was

* This patent was also for a long time lost; nay its existence so completely overlooked, that the earlier historians of Plymouth state that the colony existed till 1629 without any charter. It was accidentally discovered a few years ago among the papers in the Land Office at Boston. Morton's Memorial. Appendix, F.

lost. The friends were agreeably quartered among the families of the earlier settlers, and as after the long voyage they came quite unprovided with eatables, and the ship had besides this to be provisioned from the narrowed stores of the colony, there arose such a great want of victuals that the governor found himself obliged to put the whole society upon daily rations; to which they all cheerfully submitted.

CHAPTER VI.

SECOND COLONY. DISPUTES WITH THE INDIANS.
HUNGER AND OTHER ILLS. 1624 TO 1627.

IN such critical circumstances, it required all the strong religious self-possession of our settlers to prevent their courage from sinking. The spring awoke them to new activity. With the feeling that the Indians around them were not true friends, but that on the contrary an outbreak might be expected at any moment, they fortified their settlement as much as possible*. At the very beginning they had planted their cannon on the hill spoken of, south west of the plain where they had built their houses. This hill was now in the course of the summer converted into a regular fortification; a strong timbering was piled up for a wall-work about it, covered with a flat roof, and furnished with batteries. Here night and day a watch was held. When completed the building, described as strong and ornamental, was employed for divine service. At an earlier period they had encircled both heights for about half a mile in circum-

* Soon after the arrival of the English, and immediately before the time when all the chiefs came to solicit their friendship, several Indian tribes had held a meeting in a large marshy wood, and the powohs, or conjurers, had cursed the strangers for three days with the most horrible imprecations. Morton's Memorial, 63. The author here remarks, "one can see what trouble Satan took to circumvent the transplanting of the gospel to New England."

ference with strong palisading, and fourfold bulwarks; three of which had doors that were bolted at night. The men, under the command of Miles Standish, divided themselves into four squadrons, to the care of each of which one quarter was confided; and in fact this, taken in conjunction with their other employments, such as tilling fields, building houses, and procuring provisions, seems enough to have demanded all their energies. Such arrangements kept the Indians at a wholesome distance. True it is that in the beginning of the year, one of the Narragansett tribe appeared among them, sent by Canonicus, and left a bundle, which, when opened, proved to be some arrows wrapped in a snake skin. This Squanto told them was a declaration of war. But Bradford coolly wrapped up some powder and balls in a skin and sent them by a messenger; an answer which commanded such respect, that the Indians did not venture to open the skin, but brought it, by some roundabout way, back to the dwelling of the whites.

Another time Squanto, who, though not a bad friend, loved to make his importance felt, endeavoured to create mistrust and discord. To this end he had told his people that the whites held the plague imprisoned in a cellar, where they stored up their powder, and only required to let it loose to destroy them at pleasure, while he sought to frighten the English by means of clandestinely plotted comedy, which led them to expect an attack; and all, as it appeared, not to injure them, but only to make himself important. However, Hobomak, who was more honest, explained the matter and all appeared quiet again.

In the mean time Massasoit had been gradually estranged from them by Squanto's trickery and pretensions. He therefore positively demanded that Squanto should be delivered up to him ; and Bradford, in spite of the value of Squanto's knowledge of English and cleverness, must have been compelled to do this according to the treaty, had not a lucky chance saved the latter. The governor refused a pile of beaver skins, which Massasoit offered him for Squanto's life, expressing himself at the same time, scornfully to the effect, that no man's life was purchaseable at his hands. But Squanto, who saw in the hands of the messengers, the knife that was to end his life, stood with that resignation peculiar to his people, and quietly awaited the decision of the governor, when a shallop was seen on the sea making direct for the plantation. Bradford declared he would wait and see what she brought, upon which the messengers departed in great wrath. Thus was Squanto's life saved, and a reconciliation with Massasoit brought about. But he died soon afterwards of ardent fever, whilst accompanying Bradford on a commercial journey, much regretted by his English friends.

The boat which had been seen was sent by one of the ships which had come this summer in great numbers from England on account of the fishing, and now roamed about the coasts. It brought an addition of seven men to the colony, sent by Weston, a merchant, and who though they brought no provisions with them, were welcomed at this moment when workmen were so much needed. Winslow was now sent to the skippers in order to purchase some provisions, and this, together with two commercial journeys to Massachusetts and Monhiggon,

and a present which they received from one of the skippers, raised corn enough to provide every one with a quarter of a pound of bread per day during the summer. Bradford strongly recommended that it should be delivered out daily, whereby alone some of them were prevented from starving. Even this they had to eke out by fishing; a difficult matter for them, their nets being worn out or injured, and they were totally unprovided with materials to make new ones. They were accordingly obliged to make out with shell fish, which they could take with the hand. When Winslow returned from Monhiggon he was startled by the appearance of his friends. In the mean time the news of the frightful massacre in Virginia had reached them, (when 347 whites, living in the bosom of quiet, had been set upon by the Indians, hypocritically professing friendship to the last minute, and all murdered in the course of a few hours,) and filled them with horror and dread. Winslow and Standish also, while on their journies, heard much that indicated a hostile feeling. But still it is probable that our colonists would have avoided all bloodshed by their circumspect, friendly, and yet resolute conduct, had they not been involved in hostilities by another colony composed of the most heterogeneous elements. Weston, the merchant whom we have previously mentioned, discontented with the small gains brought him by the capital he had expended on this enterprise, resolved himself to found a colony, and having got a letter of possession for a piece of land in Massachusetts, sent thither sixty men in two ships under the command of his brother-in-law. A greater contrast to the former settlers could scarcely have been found. Weston, who only wanted *workmen*,

and who probably had no idea of the strength and endurance which a *moral* power gives to men, had brought together all sorts of useless vagabonds, whom he announced to the planters of Plymouth as "tolerably rude and profane." Cushman wrote by the same ship; "They are I fear not the people for us; they will not deal with the Indians as they ought. I beg of you therefore to make Squanto understand that they are quite a different society from ours; that we have nothing to do with them, and that no blame is to be laid on us for their faults. Still less can we answer for their faith." Even their appearance was so low that another friend, who had only seen them at their departure, remarked in a letter; "Mr. Weston's people are in the worst possible condition, and to all appearance not calculated for the society of an honest man."

In defiance of all these warnings, and though their appearance quite confirmed them, the Plymouthers took them in as countrymen, and kept one party with them almost all the summer, whilst the strongest and healthiest journeyed to Massachusetts to find a place to settle in. They decided on Wessagussett, the present Weymouth, a little south of Boston; the rest followed, except some who were sick and remained at Plymouth, where they were attended by Dr. Fuller, whose kindness was as thoroughly neglected by them after reaching Boston as was the careful hospitality they had met with. They were scarcely housed in their place of abode before complaints came from the Indians to Plymouth, about the unceasing thefts of corn, a fact which appeared to our friends in Plymouth the more credible, as during their stay there many acts of thieving had occurred.

The harvest had turned out bad, and this, together with the unexpected visit, had brought them completely to want, and they gladly hailed the arrival of two ships laden with all sorts of articles of trade, such as knives, glass beads, &c., with which they could buy corn from the Indians, but which they were obliged to pay very dear for in skins and furs. In the mean time Weston's colonists had eaten up all they had, and stolen whatever they could lay their hands upon: they sold clothes, beds and weapons for a meal, and were willing, to save themselves from starving, to do the meanest services for the Indians, who consequently treated them with the greatest contempt, and in return now robbed and otherwise ill-treated them. On the robberies being renewed, the Indians insisted on the punishment of the guilty, but as all the guilty, whose name was legion, could not be punished, John Sanders, who, after the death of Weston's brother-in-law, had been their leader, not being, as it appears, possessed of very accurate ideas of law and justice, resolved to hang one of them as a sin offering. Thomas Morton, the bitter enemy of the colonists, whom we shall afterwards see waging open as well as secret war against them, relates in his venomous pasquinade, "New Canaan," how a parliament of all the people had assembled in order to pronounce sentence of death on the criminal, when one of them proposed, instead of a young strong person who might still be useful to them, to hang up in his (the criminal's) clothes, some sick man who must die soon; and how the people shouted Amen, Amen! and how the proposal, from fear of the Indians, was rejected. In this distorted form the story spread through

England, and as the separatists were unpopular on account of their claims to holiness, it was all laid to the reckoning of the planters of Plymouth, who were not in the least degree connected with it. They were soon quoted from mouth to mouth as characteristic samples of the sly hypocrisy of their class—the more so, as the author of *Hudibras* made them the subject of a satirical tale; by which the Plymouth community might well feel themselves aggrieved, but not touched. For the colonists of Wessagussett were not merely no puritans, but Weston had even received his patent under the pretence of wishing to transplant the discipline of the church of England to America.

The new settlement caused them the more annoyance, as, notwithstanding the difference of opinions, and that at the beginning the strangers had boastingly asserted that they, strong and unencumbered with wives and children, looked to escape the ills that had beset the Plymouthers at the commencement, they (the Plymouthers) now found that the others in every instance relied on their greater wisdom and sought their counsel. Thus they sent now when they heard of the wares the Plymouthers had bought, and begged leave to make common trade with them, in order to be able to buy corn from the Indians. Partly out of compassion, and partly because the men of Boston had the ship, having kept the smaller of the two which they had brought, whilst the old colonists only possessed the shallop, which had been frequently damaged, the governor accepted the proposal and went with them to Nawssetts, where he made a lucky purchase of corn. It was upon this excursion that Squanto died. Bradford and Standish also undertook

other continental journies with success, but they were long and wearisome from the winter storms. Standish knew how to create respect wherever he went; he did not tolerate the smallest injury, nay, he even sustained his rights with more decision, because the contemptible condition of Weston's colonists threatened to make the English name despised by the Indians.

These, in the weakness produced by their own fault, seemed an easy booty to the Massachusetts people, who resolved to fall on them, and then to attack Plymouth, so as to avoid the revenge of the latter colony. But informed before hand of this, by their friend, Massasoit, who had again been converted into a most devoted friend by a visit from Winslow, which we shall afterwards relate, the brave Standish, with his little band of eight men, commenced his march, undauntedly resolved to face the natives. Their small number, and the constrained air of peace of the leader, awoke the arrogance of the Indians. They whetted knives before the eyes of the whites—flourished and boasted of others they had at home, which had slain English and French—sneered at the small stature of the chief, and irritated their enemies, whom they regarded as powerless, with the most injurious speeches. Standish allowed them full play until they felt themselves secure from his wrath; then he broke loose with fury. In a horrible massacre they slew three Indians, among them the leader Wattawamat, who was killed with his own knife, which with devilish pleasure he had sharpened for Standish. A fourth was hanged, and two were killed by Weston's people. He then went towards a neighbouring place, defeated the Indians who came against him, and slew

one of them. During the first affair, Hobomak had remained quite quiet beside them; after the victory of the whites, he complaisantly praised their chief's bravery, and remained as devoted as ever to the colonists.

The colonists of Wessagussett, moved by fright, wished to leave the place; and either to meet their master Weston in Monhiggon, where he was expected, or else to seek some opportunity of returning by a fishing ship to England. Standish brought them safe to the ship, which he had victualled out of their small stores for the voyage. He himself returned to Plymouth in his shallop with his people, and a few colonists who preferred remaining in America.

Hither he brought, as was enjoined him, the head of Wattawamat, and the bloody trophy was planted high on the walls of the fortress, for the especial terror and warning of the Indians. The severe behaviour of the whites produced fear and trembling among the natives; and many who were conscious of having been concerned in the conspiracy against them, though undiscovered, left their houses and fled into the woods, or hid themselves in morasses; so that several of them fell victims to this miserable kind of life, from hunger and disease. The settlers of Plymouth were painfully moved at the result of these proceedings, which they considered justified before God as necessary to their self-preservation. But when their pastor, Robinson, on whom they had been accustomed to look as their guiding-star through their earthly wanderings, heard of these events, he expressed the most vehement sorrow, begged of them most urgently to remember the fiery temper of their chief, and wished most urgently "that they had con-

verted many before they had killed one." He hoped, he said, the Lord might have sent Standish among them for their good, but he was afraid he (Standish) was wanting in that tender regard for the life of man, which, as the image of God, we ought to have for it. Yet no one ventured to blame the conduct of the lieutenant, in the firm conviction that he had acted towards their countrymen of Wessagussett with noble unselfishness; and that they themselves had only been rescued by his energy from complete destruction.

Of all the Indians in the vicinity, Massasoit was the only one who had remained true to them. A short time before these bloody occurrences the English heard that he was dangerously ill, whereupon the governor sent Winslow (who, on account of his circumspect sagacity and ever-ready presence of mind, was always preferred for such messages) to him in order to bring him, if possible, assurance of consolation; at the same time directing Winslow to seek out the Dutch ship which was reported to be stranded on that shore. He was accompanied by Hobomak and John Hampden, an Englishman of station, who was at that time with them, and had probably only come to America with a view of seeing the country.*

Edward Winslow was twenty-six years old at the time of his emigration. Of a good family, and not without wealth, he, during his journies on the continent, had, in unison with his religious sentiments, attached himself in Leyden to Robinson's community, and a short time before their departure had chosen himself a spouse out of their circle. At the time his name is first mentioned

* This was not the celebrated John Hampden.

we find him among the most respectable and influential of the society. Especially fitted by his sagacity, spirit, and cultivated manners to be the messenger and ambassador, we frequently see him occupied, now on a commercial journey for the good of the community, now in adroit negociations with the suspicious Indians; still more frequently, as the most skilful conductor of affairs, in England; and even elected once by the neighbouring colony of Massachusetts as spokesman, and as a free man proudly defying the almighty Laud. Being of all the colonists the most skilful with the pen, we see him, in four different writings, win for them the interest of the mother country; at another time defend them against their enemies and attackers. The confidence of his comrades rose as they lived together. Uninterruptedly nominated to assist the chief power, he was not less than five times governor; and plenipotentiary of Plymouth, at the important union of the colonies. A friend of the Indians, he made their conversion to Christianity and instruction his principal business. It was chiefly by his influence that the society in England for propagating the gospel was incorporated by act of parliament. At length the protector, whose sharp eye soon recognized the most useful instruments, and with whom a similarity of religious views constituted a strong bond of union, resolved to make himself master of him. Employed by Cromwell on important business, but foreign to the colony, he died in 1655, on board a ship of war, which was bound for the West Indies, having fallen a victim to the climate. Still to this day, New England,—where his son Josiah trod in his honoured footsteps, whither his brother followed him, and where a numerous race still lives,—calls

him with justice her own, and cherishes his memory as one of her noblest sons.

To this man now fell the task of exhibiting the sympathy of the English for the half-estranged chief; and the circumstantial narration which he has given of this journey, shows us the Indian in a most amiable light. How much Massasoit was loved and esteemed among his own people might be learnt from the lamentations with which they regarded his apparently inevitable death. Hobomak cried out time after time, "Oh, my dear prince! many have I known, but none like thee;" and was never weary of praising his friendly virtues, his justice, wisdom and goodness. They found the chief surrounded by mourning friends; for from far and near people were come to see him. A crowd of women were rubbing his limbs, whilst the Powohs, with horrible cries, were pronouncing their senseless formula over him. The patient lay almost unconscious; but when he perceived the English he expressed his joy at seeing once more, though for the last time as he thought, his friend, "Winsnow," for so the Indians called him. Winslow now first of all tried to procure him quiet, cleansed his swollen mouth, gave him some refreshing conserves, and soon saw him soothed by a long quiet sleep. Instead of the nutritious broth, such as the chief had eaten at Plymouth and had ordered for the following day, Winslow wisely contrived to substitute simple gruel, made tasty with strawberry leaves and sassafras roots, for want of better herbs. Thus he succeeded in restoring the old chief; assisted, however, very actively by Dame Nature. The Indian ascribed his recovery to "Winsnow's" clever treatment; and at his wish the latter went from wigwam

to wigwam, wherever there was a patient, to clean his thickly-coated tongue and swollen gums ; a task which he performed with Christian love, in spite of the disgust it must have created. Out of gratitude for this pure service of friendship, Massasoit, before their departure, revealed to them by Hobomak a conspiracy set on foot against them, which he had resolved to join, but had again rejected. He counselled them to attack the Massachusettters before the outbreak, as the only means of saving themselves. Accordingly, directly after Winslow's return, a council was held, the result of which was the above-mentioned important undertaking by Standish. And from that time the settlers of Plymouth lived above twelve years in peace. Of the Dutch ship, the wreck of which they had heard of, not a trace could be found.

Many vessels now skirted these coasts, since the society of Plymouth, with their enormous privileges and great means, had endeavoured to gain possession of the trade and navigation, to which their patent gave them an exclusive right, without being able to stop the private adventurers, who, in defiance of them, sent ships to the fishing. Men also began to think more earnestly of colonization. John Mason, formerly governor of Newfoundland, and Sir Ferdinando Gorges, the most active member of that society of Plymouth, sent over small companies at their own expense. One under the guidance of a Scotchman, called Thompson, settled at the mouth of the Piscataqua river,* twenty-five

* This may be regarded as the founding of Portsmouth, the principal town of the State of New Hampshire ; although a regular planting did not take place before 1631.

“ knots ” north-east of Plymouth ; another, led by the brothers Hilton, pushed westwards further into the country, and fixed themselves at Cocheco, from whence, a few years later, Dover sprang. Some small settlements also took place about this time on the coasts of Maine and the neighbouring islands. But these were little more than mere fishing stations, and it appears impossible to fix exactly the date at which they were converted into permanent settlements.

It was here that Weston's colonists hoped to find their patron, or at least to hear from him. He, however, came in a fishing ship soon after they had sailed thence, but under another name and in the guise of a smith, and finally, after having sunk into the deepest misery, owing to shipwreck and thievish Indians, he reached Plymouth. Out of compassion and respect to their previous connexion with him, he was here furnished anew, and they lent him beaver skins to the amount of £170, with which, on his return to Monhiggon, he was enabled to begin trade anew. But such was his ingratitude that he neither repaid these, nor ever recompensed them for the assistance they had given his colony ; but instead, tormented them about debts which had been long paid-off, and on his return to England sought to injure them in every possible way. We can thence see that he had withdrawn his capital from the common undertaking, of which he was one of the head persons, and placed it in security. Moreover, one after another, the London adventurers had grown tired of the affair, which promised so little immediate profit, even before the society of Plymouth, to which they belonged, had dissolved itself, though this occurred soon after.

The colonists could only attribute their being so long left without provisions to these altered views ; but in fact, as they afterwards learnt, the ships, which should have brought them, and which only arrived in August, had been driven back by repeated storms ; and they felt the more strongly that they had only God and their own strength to trust to, and accordingly resolved, in order at all events to protect themselves for the future against famine, to plant as much corn as possible. Up to this time, as all had been common possession, all had been grown in common fields. A general discontent and constant complaint, and a remarkable dread of over-exerting themselves, were the natural consequences. A piece of land was now allotted to each family for private use, but without making it hereditary. Each household, into which the single men were regularly divided, had to shift for itself, and at the harvest to deliver in a certain quantity for the common stores. The effect was good ; all went more actively to work, and even women and children helped at the field work, which had hitherto not been the case ; and the Indians had in consequence often blamed the “lazy English squaws.”

But the time of the harvest was yet far off. No supplies came, and Standish, with all his exertions, could only procure but little corn. In winter they had made a miserable shift, and had used pig-nuts for bread ; but then they had wild fowl and game, which was regularly divided out among the community. In spring it became more severe ; months passed without their seeing bread ; nay, one tradition tells that at last only one pint of corn remained, at the division of which five grains were allotted to each person, and these were eaten as a particu-

lar delicacy. "Often," says Bradford in his daybook, "we do not know in the evening where we shall get a bite next morning; but yet we bear our want with joy and trust in providence."

The only thing that remained was fish, and then frequently only lobsters and mussels; but over each of these poor meals, both before and after, the pious Brewster pronounced a blessing, and thanked God for having granted them "to suck out of the fulness of the sea, and for the treasures sunk in the sand." No one ventured to murmur so long as the head men offered such an example. The boat lay out at sea with five or six men unintermittingly till some fish were caught, which however often lasted a week: then others were sent out, and so the change went on. Many times they were lucky; thus during one ebb they caught fifteen hundred perch in the creeks, but they were also often obliged to content themselves with nothing but clams.*

But their patient spirit was to be more and more tried. They looked with joyful hope to the harvest of this year, as a reward for their double labour; but in the latter part of May a complete summer heat commenced. In six weeks there fell not one drop of rain. Thus the middle of July had arrived; the fields were like hay, a desolate sight for those who had built on them their hopes of supporting life. Accustomed to trace either a blessing or punishment in all God's outward manifestations, and not merely trials and means of instruction as a rightly directed piety should do, the settlers thought they saw here a chastisement for their

* An oyster-like mussel, much harder and worst tasted than the common oyster, found on the eastern shores of America.

offences. "It pleased God," says Edward Winslow, one of their greatest men, "to send a great dearth for our further punishment. These and similar reflections moved not only every good man to enter upon an examination of his position towards God and his conscience, but also us to humble ourselves in a more solemn way before the Lord by fasting and prayer. To this purpose a day was set apart by the authorities, and all business was suspended, in the hope that the same God who had incited us to it would hereby allow himself to be moved to look on us in mercy, and to grant the request of our prostrated souls; provided always that our stay here were compatible with his glory and our weal. But oh, the compassion of God, who was as ready to hear as we to pray; for although in the morning when we assembled the sky was clear, and the drought appeared as if it would last for ever, yet after our devotions had endured eight or nine hours, the weather was changed even before we broke up, and the clouds gathered in from all sides. The morning after it began to drizzle, with mild refreshing showers mingled with warm strengthening sunshine, so that it is difficult to say whether our withered corn or our depressed spirits were more refreshed and quickened. So great was the benevolence and goodness of our God!"

The joy and emotion of those so blessed was indescribable, and we cannot doubt that the idea of regarding themselves as the chosen children of God, whom he had led with his protecting hand through the wastes of the ocean, and by this miracle assured them of his especial grace in the efficacy of their prayers, made them as happy as their improved prospects. The event made the same impression on the Indians. Hobomak and the

others, who had wondered at their assembling on any other day than the Sabbath, exclaimed; "Now we see that your God loves you. When we in our conjuring implore God for rain he gives it, it is true, but with hail and thunder, which makes the evil still greater; but your rain is of the right kind. Now we see that your God cares for you!"

Heaven dealt out to them plentiful joys not unmixed with sorrows. At the close of the month came from England a ship called the Anne, which they had long waited for with great anxiety, and which brought them many loved and long-wished-for friends and dependents, as did also immediately after a smaller ship, which was to remain in the country. The wives of many previously arrived came over in these ships; also Brewster's two daughters, whom he had left in Leyden in order to complete their education there. There were also many respectable men who wished to try their luck among the settlers. Shortly before, a ship had touched here, the Francis West, commanded by the newly appointed Admiral of England, sent out in order to stop free fishing, in which, so far from succeeding, he only occasioned complaints from the possessors, and thereby the act of parliament which made the fishing free in perpetuity. This ship had spoken another having emigrants on board for New Plymouth, and which had immediately after lost her mast in a gale, and great fear was expressed by the seafaring men that an accident had occurred. From that time forth the settlers watched the sea with anxiety, thinking they saw a wreck in the distance; and many a tear flowed from illusive mourning as well as on account of the common need; and when, shortly after their

nine hours' prayer, both ships came safely in, they considered that this could only be ascribed to an express fulfilment of their prayers.

The strangers who, as we shall see, had had many a severe trial to bear on their voyage, were astounded to see their friends in so mournful a condition, and in their worn and meagre forms saw their own fate mirrored as it were in a glass of woe. Others full of hope, and seized with deep compassion, cried over the alteration in men whom they had known in flourishing circumstances. "The best dish we could offer them," writes the honest Bradford in his quiet, simple way, "was a lobster or a piece of fish without bread or any thing better than a goblet of fresh spring water ; and the long continuance of this diet, with our labours out of doors, has in some degree injured the freshness of our complexions. But God gives us health."

For this noble-minded man the arrival of the ships was also of great importance, as in the *Anne* came his old love, Mrs. Alice Southworth, whom he had wooed in early life, but whose hand had been refused him by her parents on account of the narrowness of his circumstances ; but now she was like him, widowed and free. At his renewed request she came at once to New England, in order to marry him. She was well to do ; and the mother of two boys, whom she brought with her and educated as Americans. She possessed great literary acquirements, and exercised much influence on the education of the youth at Plymouth. Brewster's daughters Patience and Fear also married soon ; the first, Thomas Prince, afterwards governor ; the other, the widower Allerton. Some of the sixty strangers

belonged to Robinson's community, but many were adventurers and loose rabble, whom the colony sent off next year at their own expense rather than expose their young people to their godless example. In September the Anne, loaded with furs and shingles, returned to England, and they sent by her Winslow as their agent to see how things went on there, and to provide them with many things they wanted, which had been quite neglected by the society of adventurers in England.

For they felt more every day how the bonds between them and the adventurers were giving way. They had indeed received a letter from them, signed with thirteen names, in which it said, "Let it not weigh heavily on you that you have been the means of breaking the ice for others who will follow you with less difficulty; we carry your image constantly in our hearts, and the hearty love of all is accorded you, as well as the heartfelt wishes of hundreds who have never seen your faces, but who doubtless pray for your safety as for their own;" and such words were a true consolation. But it was quite clear that these were only the voices of individuals, and that there were among the adventurers many who mistrusted and disliked them on account of their separatists' religious principles. The wares sent to them, partly for commerce, partly for their own use, were of the commonest kind; and though they found in Cushman a constantly active friend and agent in London, and had also rich friends among the merchants, yet no one knew their wants and those of the country so well as one like Winslow, who had long lived and suffered among them. There was as little want of false friends as of open foes in England. A long time pre-

viously they had once got into the district of the society of Plymouth, and they had commissioned one of the adventurers, called John Pierce, to procure for them, from the high council of England, a patent for their settlement and the district around. This was easy to obtain, and, as was the custom with patents of this kind, it was made out in his name, and sent to them by Cushman in the *Fortune*. Now when Pierce saw that the colony was rising, he contrived to get another patent more extensive than the last, and not only in his own name, but for himself personally, and concocted a plan for making the Plymouth settlers his vassals and farmers, and himself their lord and master. A ship fitted out by him, in which he, together with some passengers, attempted the voyage, was driven back twice by storms. The great expense caused by this damaged the undertaking, but he still succeeded in selling the patent to the society for £500, while it had only cost him £50. What became of this patent cannot be made out. It appears that the colonists, to whom (though there is no mention made of the matter) it was doubtlessly handed over at the division with the adventurers in 1627, based their rights on it until they received a new one in 1630, to which we shall refer at a later period. Notwithstanding the clear view which the valuable diaries of the time give us of the moral and homely domestic life of the colonists, there are still many dark passages not cleared up. Their relations with the adventurers have important gaps, and until we obtain a clearer view of their original treaties we shall never thoroughly comprehend their position.

In the harvest of this year, Captain Robert Gorges,

son of Sir Ferdinand, arrived suddenly, in order to begin a settlement, and to rule over all New England as general governor. The governor of Plymouth learned by a letter from him that he, with others, was appointed to assist him. This was, in fact, the first and only step which the society of Plymouth took as a common body for the colonization of New England. He brought a number of settlers to Massachusetts, choosing the place left by Weston's people in Wessagussett for his colony. Soon after, a storm drove his ship into the harbour of Plymouth. Immediately after, came Weston himself. But the new governor took him so hard to task about the bad behaviour of his people, and several irregularities in his own conduct, and Weston received these so ungraciously, that it required all Bradford's moderation and wisdom, and all the respect with which he had inspired the governor, to bring about a temporary peace. Gorges soon found that the honour of being viceroy of a land as yet waste was not so great as he had imagined, and went back to England, accompanied by the greater part of his colonists. Many went to Virginia, and several of those who had come to Plymouth in the last transport, whom the severe puritan life there in no way suited, went thither (to Virginia) in the same ship with the others. Some few remained in Wessagussett; but they were so unimportant in number, that one can regard this as a second breaking up of the Massachusetts colony.

The long stay of both ships and their rude tenants produced among our Plymouth friends such annoyances, and indeed such material injuries, that the destruction of the whole colony might easily have been the result

of it. For, owing to the folly of some seamen, five or six houses, which they had built with so much trouble, were burnt down; and such a quantity of wares, that they estimated the loss at £500. With the exception of this serious mishap, heaven seemed again to smile on them. Their harvest had been as good as they could wish, and with it and the provisions which they had received from England by the Anne and the James, they were not only secured against all want, but the hard time of necessity had also passed away, and in the first three years of their residence here they had weathered the most severe part of their apprenticeship.

CHAPTER VII.

GROWTH AND IMPROVEMENT. BETTER STATE OF
MATTERS. FROM 1624 TO 1627.

MEANWHILE the time for the yearly choice of a governor had again come round. Bradford, who had filled the office three years, though supported by only one assistant, now wished that another should undertake it. He was wont to say, "If it is an honour it is but fitting that they should share it; if a burthen that they should help to bear it." But so well known was his value that he was chosen again; but in order to lighten his labours, which had grown greater from the increase of the colonists, five assistants were given him, and a double voice. The population of the place had in the mean time been augmented to 180 souls, and the number of dwelling houses to thirty-two, each provided with a kitchen garden. A regular watch-tower was raised in the fortress, and the whole place took on a more stately and inhabitable appearance.

In March, Winslow returned, richly laden with articles of clothing and wares. The news which he brought of the shattered state of the society of Plymouth, whose disposition towards them threatened a total dissevering of all connexion, dejected every one, but the immediate advantages which attended his arrival were too great not to make them forget for the moment every thing else. He brought not merely a supply of

useful wares and necessary articles of clothing, but also the first horned cattle, three cows and a bull ; the arrival of which, as one may imagine, awakened the most extravagant joy in young and old ; it was like the first feeling of home come back. With the great number of English children who were growing up around them, it seems hardly credible that our settlers had got through for more than three years without cows. Goats, pigs, and hens they had got, it appears, at an earlier date. These first cows were a common possession of the colony, and were first divided three years after at the division of the houses and fields, when their number had greatly increased. In the following year more cows were sent, which, as the relation of the colonists to the adventurers had changed, were sold to the highest bidders. One of the adventurers, however, a friend of man, sent them a cow in order to form a provision for the poor of Plymouth, and settled, with all the precision of the father of a family, that if any calves resulted which could be sold, the money was to be applied to the purchase of shoes and stockings : a foresight which proved of immense value at the final division of the live stock in 1638 ; for the poor of the colony had greatly increased by that time.

The trade with the Indians and the English fishing ships, about fifty of which came this year to the coast of New England, had been prosecuted by the colonists with all possible activity, although with little profit ; for the Dutch often forestalled them, and the want of vessels was a great obstacle. Winslow brought with him a ship carpenter, who soon built them two strong shallops and a large lighter. Their harvest was this year so excellent,

that instead of having to buy corn from the Indians, or starve, they were able to send the next year a load to the Kennebeck, and exchange it for beaver skins. At Cape Ann, for which the London adventurers had obtained a patent, for their profit and that of the colony, fresh stations were erected, and the ships, as richly and quickly laden as possible, were sent back to England. Winslow, who had proved so valuable an agent, went thither again in August.*

But now, when outwardly all wore a better aspect, they fell a prey to interior disquietudes. The most of the London adventurers, who had a direct pecuniary interest in the settlement of New Plymouth, viewed them, as separatists, with dislike, and as they had never regarded their settlement in an uninhabited land as a good speculation, they were in no way inclined to grant them that peace of God and satisfaction which the settlers had bought with the sacrifice of all that adorns and cheers life. Those of the Leyden community who had remained behind, and especially Robinson, on whom all eyes were fixed, not only met with all sorts of obstacles, money for the passage being refused under various pretences, but in spite of the remonstrances of Cushman and Winslow, a clergyman of the name of Lyford was sent over, who, if no charge could be exactly made against him, was still suspected by many, and by his crouching, hypocritical visage, constantly bathed in tears, made a very disagreeable impression on the simple men. But he knew so well how to chime in with their peculiar phraseology—alas! that it should be the current mark for real godliness—to paint so impressively his horror at the de-

* Prince, 224, 228. Memorial, 109, ii. 376, 386.

pravation of the episcopal church, and his contrition for his own sinfulness, and to implore admission into their church with such gushes of hot tears,—that they were weak enough, not only to receive him among them, but even to allow him to preach.

But his constant secret meetings with one John Oldham, whom they knew to be a malcontent, and some other circumstances, soon awoke their mistrust. He contrived, however, to form himself a party among those whom the rigor of the community did not suit, and, contrary to the opinions he had so loudly announced, began to offer the sacrament to individuals with the forms of the English church. It was also found out that he had baptized the child of a man who did not belong to the church, which, according to the narrow principles of their union, could only be imparted to the young children of the “reborn,” or to the reborn themselves. Lyford’s wife let fall many words indicating his former wild life, and at last it really turned out that he was a clergyman who had been expelled from Ireland on account of his bad conduct. In this disadvantageous position to the society of adventurers, the governor held himself justified, and rightly, in opening the letters he and Oldham wrote to England, and thereby detected a black web of calumny, as well as the circumstance that Lyford was really sent to work against their views, and to reform their church. When in the open assembly of the council he was reproached with his baseness, and especially his hypocrisy, Lyford, after long denial, confessed all his sins with tears; wringing his hands, and humbly imploring forgiveness. But Oldham, who had behaved in the most coarse manner to Standish, the military commander,

who had ordered him to go on duty at the watch-tower, defended himself with the most unbounded impudence, and sought, by violent and slanderous speeches, to rouse the people to revolt. The result was that both were banished out of the colony. Oldham went immediately, but his family was humanely allowed to remain here six months, which was also accorded to Lyford and his family. That the latter had not felt real repentance soon showed itself, and they were glad to be quit of him at the expiration of the time. He roamed about from one small settlement to another, alternately carrying on worldly and spiritual business, until he died in Virginia. Oldham soon returned from his banishment, and even broke in upon the general assembly with such furious language and insults, calling them time after time traitors and rebels, that the least they could do was to arrest him, and when he had grown cooler, get a boat ready for him and bring him to the opposite shore, where he had to pass through a file of musketeers, who gave him each a blow with the but end of his weapon on the back, with the admonition, "Go and mend your manners."

At this time Winslow returned from England, with the news that the society of Plymouth, long a prey to open dissensions, had dissolved itself, and that the patent had been demanded back by the king, as arbitrarily as it was given; and most of the capitalists, out of whose means the colony had been founded, now withdrew all their interest from it, and even began to send fishing ships at their own risk to the coasts of New England, which injured their former partners, and claimed the station of Cape Ann, which the latter had built for them-

selves. Some of the London merchants, who were bound to them by religious sympathies, remained true. "Five or six," writes Robinson, "mean well; five or six are our enemies; the others are indifferent, but will be carried away by the latter." More anxious than ever about their capital, they began to reflect more on their profits; reckoning the wares sent out at overdriven prices, and making constantly more urgent and excessive claims for supplies of American articles of trade. It thus appeared indisputably necessary, as soon as possible, to come to an agreement, and to close accounts with mercantile friends, who knew so little how to take into consideration the difficulties under which the colonists laboured in the wilderness; but they had, just now, a better cargo than ever to send over in the two ships. Fortune was not favourable to them. The vessels had almost reached the harbour of Plymouth, in England, when one fell into the hands of Turkish pirates, who at this time infested every sea. The blow was hard; but in the ship which arrived was Standish, whom they had sent to England to do whatever he could to arrange their affairs upon reasonable terms with the adventurers, and to gain over to their interest the council of New England. The time could not have been more unfavourable; the plague had broken out in London; all business was at a stand-still, and the streets were filled with hearses. Standish was thus able to do but little; but their concern for his small success gave way before the heart-rending news which he brought to Plymouth next spring, that their beloved pastor Robinson was dead.

More than a year previously, the worthy pastor of

souls had died ; he who enjoyed the confidence of every community in England and America, and who, as one of his Leyden friends, who greatly respected him, wrote to Bradford, " would certainly never have gone from hence if prayers, tears, or means of aid could have saved him." Thus they had been a year without news from England. The consternation was great. From year to year, hoping for Robinson's arrival, they had never taken a single step to gratify the holiest and dearest want of their souls, that of receiving the blessed sermon three times a day on Sunday, from some man entirely devoted to God, and to refresh themselves with the sacrament, previously taken by all, every Sunday ; nor had they even thought of inviting any other clergyman to settle among them. The preaching in the churches of the early independents was certainly not suited to the office of pastor, nay, even to the clerical state ; in the absence of the pastor it was taken by the ruling elder : he among the brethren who felt himself called upon, got up and prophesied. It was considered a duty to use one's gifts. The venerable Brewster had, in particular, conscientiously filled the office of pastor for four years ; but he was a pattern of a puritanical, pious Christian, and, withal, in the highest degree long-suffering and kind, and, according to the testimony of his brethren, endowed with the most distinguished talent of oratory ; yet a remarkable distrust of his own powers always kept him back from undertaking the real duties and honours of the pastoral office. The discourses delivered from the pulpit by laymen, in place of the pastors, were called " discourses," not sermons ; and their church instruction not preaching, but prophe-

syng.* This last consisted in interpreting individual portions of the holy writings ; a devotional exercise which had already been introduced, as early as the beginning of Elizabeth's reign, in England among the zealous protestants, when, however, the part of the prophet had always been taken by the clergymen ; but in the assembly of seceded puritans and independents, one member often appeared after another when the spirit moved them, to let their light shine in this manner ; as every one held himself also bound to quench the thirst of his Christian brethren and sisters with the water of life, which the grace of God had allowed him to draw from it: thus, speech often followed speech, and prayer after prayer, making the sittings at the conventicle last till late in the night.

Among the independents, however, real sermons were occasionally delivered by laymen. When Robert Cushman came to New Plymouth, he there gave the "first sermon which was ever preached in New England." His subject was, "the sin and danger of self-love ;" the place, the common-hall and store-house of the colonists. In their eyes, the divine service lost nothing of its solemnity, either from the want of a regular clergyman, or of a regular house of God : so long as the pure Christian devotion and extemporized prayer were preserved, and their devotion was not disturbed by paintings, crucifix, or other signs of heathenish idolatry and popery, nor their psalm-singing by music, to them an object of horror. It was not in the nature of the early independent churches, and in fact generally not in the sense of the reformed church, to se-

* When Wilson, the first preacher in Boston, went to Europe, he recommended his community to exercise themselves well in prophesying ; and called their attention to governor Winthrop, vice-governor Dudley, and Elder Newel, as particularly "fit for prophesying."

parate, by a sharp line of demarcation, the office and duties of a clergyman from the position of a Christian towards his brother Christians. Luther had declared that all Christians were of the "clerical class," and consecrated priests by baptism. All members of the visible church, or "saints by calling," as they named themselves,* thought themselves called on to become labourers in the vineyard of the Lord, and as having become of age through their knowledge of the gospel, and as being of equal birth entitled to assist, by love and preaching, in extending the realm of God ; so far as they fancied themselves calculated, by the amount of inspiration they had received from the Holy Ghost. Their head watcher was certainly their spiritual shepherd ; but the duty was incumbent on brethren and sisters, on all, to watch and pray for one another ; the administering the sacrament was alone reserved for the clergyman.

Moreover, as we know, it was not the consecration by other clergymen, which conferred the rank of clergymen on their preachers. Chosen by a majority of voices, the consecration was imparted to them by a simple laying on of hands by the elders or other respected members, or by prayers. They were just as little inclined to leave to the pastor, and leading elder, an unlimited direction of their community affairs. They were responsible to the brethren for all their actions ; who were, as one of the elder American historians expresses it, "willing to let the clergy keep the saddle, if they (the brethren) could only retain the reins." One may see that, out of such a

* And still call themselves. Saints by calling, are those who have received a knowledge of the principles of religion, are free from serious vices, and are willing to go forth with a confession of their faith and repentance, by declaring their submission to Christ and his commandments.

pure democratic constitution of the church, the body politic would easily develope itself to a republic.

The devotional exercises were just as little tied to the abstract idea of place. The words of the Lord, "The hour cometh when ye shall neither on this mountain, nor yet at Jerusalem, worship the Father. God is a spirit, and they who worship him must worship him in spirit and in truth;" "Where two or three are gathered together, there am I in the midst of them,"—had emancipated them from holding any locality sacred. Industriously avoiding all sensual help to devotion, they thought they had not sufficiently spiritualized the divine service by the renunciation of paintings and other ornaments; the plainest room, only distinguished from their dwelling rooms by its greater extent, was therefore, in their opinion, best suited to their devotional meetings, as it served for purposes of another kind.

Hence the settlers of New Plymouth never thought of building themselves a regular house of God until more necessary things were done, and they were twenty-seven years in the new country before they allowed themselves this luxury, which certainly appeared to the more strict a sinful inclination towards the corruption of the English church, which had been nourished by sensual indulgence. In fact the first meeting house in Plymouth, provided with a bell, was built in 1648. Till then, they probably performed the divine service in the citadel. But who will fail to remark here, that among the puritans it was only the independents, who in their dread of the sensual influence of a definite place, went these lengths; although the others acted on the same principle, and held the church (that is the building) to be a con-

venience, not a necessity ; and abhorred just as much the idea of annexing sanctity to it. Salem and Boston were scarcely founded when meeting houses arose in the midst of them ; but still in the plainest dwelling house style, only distinguished by their size from the other buildings, and serving occasionally for other purposes, as is still the case in all the villages of New England—the towns being too well provided with buildings to require that in them the meeting houses should be applied to any other than their legitimate destination. The great thought, namely, that the divine service should receive no part of its sanctity from time, place, or person ; but only from the Spirit of God which moves them, and from the presence of the Lord who lends them his consecrations, is and was justly adhered to by the presbyterian as in the independent churches of America. Although the death of their spiritual leader had now destroyed their hopes of his being again united to them, they did not immediately proceed to choose another. Brewster, with the occasional help of Bradford, Winslow and another, delivered the sermons and prayers and baptized. They abstained from the sacrament. At length in 1628, Allerton, after he had been twice in England, brought back with him a young preacher of the name of Rogers, who soon after gave signs of insanity, so that they were obliged to send him back at a great expense. In the meantime the number of settlers had greatly increased, and in Salem alone there were not less than four clergymen, of whom only two could be employed, whereupon one of them, Ralph Smith, a goodly, simple man, went to Plymouth ; and, as he showed himself orthodox, was

by the people there chosen to be their first 1629 preacher, for want of a better.

The year 1627 forms an epoch in the history 1627 of the planters. After having been crushed down six years by long labour, debts, and care, their expansion to a more happy state of existence may be reckoned from this time. However great the effort by which their progress was accomplished, the planters, tired of the society of adventurers, who only worked them detriment instead of advantage, and who, now that their interest in the affair was diminished, could not be induced any longer to stake important sums, and disliking the dependence in which they were held—had sent Allerton a year previously to conclude an arrangement with them which Standish had begun. Now at last a treaty was brought about, according to which the colonists bought of the adventurers all their shares for £1800, pledging themselves also to pay them regularly £200 per annum; the payments to be made at Michaelmas, beginning with the year 1628, so that they had room to hope by the year 1636 to be freed from all oppressive debt; Allerton, in the name of the settlers, and not less than twenty-four adventurers signed the treaty, so that we are justified in believing each had only staked a very small sum in the undertaking.*

The news awakened great joy among the settlers, although they scarcely knew how they could liquidate such a heavy debt, in addition to what already weighed on them. Allerton had just been obliged to take up £200 in London, to provide himself with proper articles of traffic

* But the entire loss was really very considerable. In 1624, the sum expended on the undertaking was estimated at about £7000, and the debts of the company at about £1400.

with the Indians, which augmented their debt to £600, exclusive of what they owed the adventurers. These sums were lent to them at the most exorbitant interest; thirty, forty, or even fifty per cent., six to eight being the current interest, so little confidence was placed in their means of making a livelihood.

However, they went to work, joyful and confiding; the more so, as the men to whom they had been accustomed to look for support, had pledged themselves to the adventurers for the debt. They resolved, as before, to devote their commercial profits to the payment of their debt. A year before, their trade had begun to increase very much. A French ship had been wrecked on the coast of Maine, and many of the most valuable goods had fallen into the hands of the settlers of Monhiggon (whither Sir Ferdinando Gorges had, in the mean time, sent a small colony), or of the fishers lying there. That settlement was now to be broken up, and their goods as well as the wares, which luck had sent them, were to be sold; and Bradford and Winslow, who went thither to buy them, were so fortunate as to procure them, in common with the settlers of Piscataqua, at very moderate prices. But now every nerve had to be strained, to extend their trading connexions. A small pinnace was built in Manomet, twenty miles south of Plymouth,* in order to avoid the dangerous voyage around Cape Cod. Here they built their first trading factory, and brought their wares in boats up the river,

* The land south of Plymouth harbour was called Manomet; Buzzard Bay was then called Manomet Bay. The "people" have converted this into Monument, which name the village south of Point Monument, belonging to the town of Plymouth, now bears.

and then to land. Thus they appeared advancing towards the south, but the north was not to escape them. They solicited from the society of New England a patent for a proper trading place on the Kennebeck, in Sagadahok or Maine, which they received, and here erected a second branch colony, which aided 1628 their view of starting a more active intercourse with the Indians and fishers.

About this time they were highly gratified by an act on the part of the Dutch (which was also advantageous to them), who had long carried on a trade on the Hudson, but had only a short time previously 1627 formally settled on the mouth of this river, and built Fort Amsterdam. These wrote a courteous and friendly letter, inviting them to barter occasionally, and offering them their services; a politeness which was answered in kind, and with the thankful acknowledgment of the hospitality they had enjoyed in Holland.

The following year, they received an unexpected 1628 visit from the secretary of the colony, De Brazier, who, amply provided with wares, and according to the fashion of the times, accompanied, as a diplomatic person, by trumpeters and a number of servants, came to Manomet, and begged them to send him a boat. They entertained him three days very hospitably, and then accompanied him to his ship, to buy some of his wares. From this time began a brisk trade, profitable to both parties; the Dutch selling the Plymouthers sugar, linen, and other stuffs, for tobacco, until the Virginians took this trade out of their hands.

What was most particularly useful to them, was that their Dutch friends made them acquainted with the

“wampum.” This is to the Indians what gold is to the nations of Europe and Asia, and, like it, serves at once for an ornament, and as a medium of payment. It is prepared from a kind of mussel called quahock, found on the sandy coasts of the southern shores of New England and Long Island, where the Narragansetts and Pequods used at one time to gather it, and, like the possessors of gold mines in other regions, grew rich by accumulating it.* The Indians of the interior valued and gave a high price for it, and after a short time it became one of the most important articles of trade between them and the settlers of Plymouth, who sold it on the Kennebeck, and took this branch quite away from the smaller settlements and the fishers.

Now that all external matters seemed to take a more favourable form, it was additionally necessary to make their domestic life a little comfortable. The planters had long very impatiently endured the want of possessions of *their own*, and the injury to family arrangements occasioned by it. In fact, they possessed nothing, so long as the merchants in England were part owners of
 1623 their houses and fields. In the third spring, when they assigned to every family a piece of land, but without making it hereditary, an increased zeal
 1624 and industry had been visible. The year after, the settlers urged the governor to let them enjoy the advantages of hereditary possessions, and he and the

* Roger Williams, in the key to the Indian language, says, “their white money they called ‘wampum,’ which means white; their black, suk—quahock, *suki*, signifying *black*. The mussel has two colours—white, and in a small part blue-black, and in shape is like a thick oyster shell. It is cut into small pieces of parallelopiped form, which are bored through, and polished by rubbing on stones.”—*History of Plymouth*, 70.

assistants elected with him resolved to depart so far from the conditions of their treaty as to allot to each colonist an acre of land, as near the town as possible, in order, in the surrounding dangers, to be close to one another for the purposes of self-defence. Thus their external relations were better assured, and, what they regarded as a precious possession, they were lords of the whole ground and land, for a circle of more than one hundred miles. The neighbouring land was accordingly divided into equal portions of twenty acres, five long on the side to the water, and four broad, and to each citizen was given a piece of land, with the liberty of buying another for his wife, and every child living with him. To every six pieces were allotted a cow, two goats, and pigs in proportion. The acre of land previously allotted to them remained in addition, and a proportionate impost, for the purpose of paying off the debt, was fixed for each person. All these arrangements tended to the general contentment.

In the mean time, the thinking men of the plantation felt that the affair could only thrive when they had thrown off their burthensome debt. In addition, came very painful letters from their Leyden friends, who were completely in want of means to join them, and were threatened with total dispersion, owing to their patron's death. Such as had private fortune, and were willing to venture it for the good of their friends of the colony, as Bradford, Brewster, Winslow, Prince, Allerton, Standish, Olden, and Howland, accordingly resolved to farm the entire trade; pledging themselves to pay not only the £1800 to the society, but also all other debts, and to bring over, yearly, £50 worth of shoes and stockings, and sell them these for corn, reckoned at 6s. the

bushel. After six years, the trade was again to revert to the colony ; the treaty was concluded, and the pinnacle and shallop, with all the wares, were delivered to the undertakers.

One of the great motives in this was, out of any gain they might make, to bring over their Leyden friends ; among whom were Robinson's wife and children. They had the satisfaction to find that those of the London merchants who were their allies in religion, and hence interested themselves for the Leyden people, united with them in their undertaking. It was also highly agreeable to them, in 1629, to receive thirty-five of their old comrades, with their families ; and, in the succeeding spring, sixty more. All were poor when they started on their journey, and not at all in a condition to provide themselves with the necessary articles of dress, to say nothing of money for their transport to England, and their stay there. This, with their abode in New Plymouth for nearly a year and a half—that is, until they had procured themselves house room, and reaped their first harvest—had all to be paid for by the commercial undertakers out of their own purse ; an offering of brotherly love, often purchased by the American side with self-denial of the most necessary wants of life. The transport of the last arrivals alone, cost £550 ; that of the first, £100 more, on account of their greater helplessness and poverty, though they were smaller in number ; for their London business friends had purposely sent out first the poorest and weakest, on the supposition that the others, if they wished to emigrate, would be able to contribute towards it. * According to the description given by Shirley, a mercantile friend of

* Bradford's Letter Book, Mass. Hist. Coll. iii. 69.

Bradford, the greater part of the strangers did not appear to have been a very agreeable accession to the society of Plymouth. During their stay in England, they had occasioned him much trouble, and excessive demands on Allerton, who attended to the transport. "In fact," he wrote, "they have occasioned most unreasonable expense, and yet they murmur at every thing, and are constantly complaining. Really, their incomprehensible behaviour has so diminished my love for them, that, if Mrs. Robinson were once over, I should not waste another penny on them."

It was, perhaps, such samples of the community that had, at an earlier date, moved the adventurers to lay as many obstacles as possible in the way of the settlement, and not to expend any money on it, in the idea that such people understand praying better than working: which was the only thing of consequence to them. Moreover, the mass of the planters were not at all disposed to make great sacrifices for their brethren; but among the men who feared God, who had willingly taken on their shoulders the whole burthen, the tie of religion was the principal thing, and brotherly duties were united with it. They cheerfully covered the weakness of the new-comers with the garment of Christian love. "In spite of all that want of sense," says Bradford, "they were such as fear God, and they were welcome; and, for the most part, useful:" and thus they bore the burthen with joy, in the pious hope, "that through this increase of the people of Christ, and of his church in this part of the world, a rich harvest would accrue to him."

But they were also willing to extend the hand of charity to Christians of another persuasion. 1626

In the beginning of the winter of 1626 a ship, which was bound for Virginia, and had lost her way, ran at night into one of the small bays, on the south coast of the land which forms the bay of Cape Cod. Dreading the Indians, who next morning surrounded them in canoes, and ignorant where they were, they were cheered by the friendly question, "whether they were of the people of the governor of Plymouth?" which was followed by an offer of help. They then sent some of their men to him, to beg for assistance ; for they still hoped to be able to refit the ship and reach Virginia. The governor came provided with the necessary materials and corn, which, as well as his counsel, they accepted with thanks. But their ship was scarcely repaired, before a fresh storm drove it again on shore, and so injured it that they could not think of a further journey. Now they felt the benefit of the vicinity of Plymouth—they besought the colonists to take them in for the winter, until they could find an opportunity of going to Virginia ; and this and every kind of assistance was hospitably granted them. Among the Virginian planters were some rich men, who had with them a great number of servants, and wished to employ them. They therefore begged for some land, that they might till it, and so pay for the hospitable treatment they had met with ; and the great increase of hands with cheering rapidity made fertile a large piece of land and produced plenty of corn. It was only towards 1627 the end of summer that the strangers found a convenient opportunity of going to Virginia ; and the men of Plymouth had this time the joy of having made thankful hearts and of hearing the acknowledgments of their guests issue from their home of the south.

CHAPTER VIII.

FIRST BEGINNING OF THE COLONY OF MASSACHUSETTS.
FROM 1624 TO 1630.

IN the meantime James was dead, and the 1625 opinions of his successor had brought the puritans no change for the better. Abbot, archbishop of Canterbury, a man of rigorous severity, and a passionate enemy of catholicism, inclined certainly somewhat to their views, but he held to conformity with all the narrow-hearted precision of his predecessors ; and by and bye, the reins were taken out of his hand, by Laud, bishop of London, who persecuted with remorseless cruelty everything that savoured, however distantly, of puritanism, whether in church or state.

It consequently appeared to the heads of this party more than ever necessary to look out an asylum, where shelter could be found against such oppression. One of their most respectable preachers named White, a pastor in Dorchester, a puritan in feeling though from necessity a conformist, had watched with interest the fate of the settlers of Plymouth and directed the attention of his friends to New England. Moved by his influence, some men of fortune, of similar opinions, resolved to make a more extensive settlement there, and so commence a small colony at Cape Ann, whither they accordingly sent some people to prosecute the fishing-trade,

and settle on a piece of ground there, for which it seems they had taken a patent. Not long after the misunderstandings with Lyford broke out in Plymouth, 1624 and some friends, who had long felt themselves disagreeably affected by the narrow views of the men of Plymouth, took the opportunity of separating from them and going to Nantasket.* This was a desert village of the Indians, at the entrance of the bay of Massachusetts, where the Plymouthers had previously built a house for the convenience of trading with the Indians. Among the discontented was Roger Conant, who is described as "a pious, moderate and sensible man." He was now invited by White to manage the planting at Cape Ann, and not only was Lyford invited to become preacher of the colony, but Oldham also to superintend the trade with the natives, which however was not accepted by him, he preferring to trade singly in Nantasket.

It may well be supposed that White did not know Lyford's contemptible nature, nor the manner in which Oldham had behaved to the Plymouthers. He was doubtless inclined to attribute these unhappy events to the narrow-hearted egotism of the latter, which drove forth all who thought differently from them. For those puritans who had submitted to the state church, from love of peace, or because they had convinced themselves that they could in this way best serve God, were accustomed to regard with great suspicion all who separated from it; nay, they decisively rejected the separation, "which cut in two the body of Christ;" they did not want any other church than the church of Eng-

* Now called Hull

land, but this was to be reformed and purified, and thus they spent their strength in vain endeavours and hoped on for more than a quarter of a century; but those who, by their complete separation, laid obstacles in the way of a reform, they hated as disturbers of labours pleasing to God, just as those hated the mere conformists as men who had had communion with idolatry, and submitted to the usurpation of the rights of Christ, the head of his church; but we shall soon see that Robinson was right, when he said that there was really no difference at bottom, and that in the pure air of New England, puritanism would soon grow up to its natural form, till it developed itself into a body totally independent of the mother church and state, and that the puritans became separatists as soon as they could do so unpunished.

The gentlemen of Dorchester soon found their undertaking so little profitable, that they resolved to give it up; but the activity of White was such that he speedily contrived to find new patrons for it. He was admirably supported by the wisdom and perseverance of Conant. The latter had observed in the bay of Massachusetts a tongue of land of peculiar fertility, of the name of Naumkeak,* with also a little township which had 1626 been deserted by the Indians; and formed a station there. In England, six wealthy noblemen of the 1628 neighbourhood of Dorchester, with Sir Henry Roswell at their head, united together in order to buy the patent of the land in Massachusetts Bay from the high council of New England, which land was included between the Merrimak and the Charles River, and lay to

* The present Salem.

the north of the former in its most northerly direction, and to the south of it in its most southerly direction. But in length it extended over unexplored regions from the Atlantic to the Silent Sea.* This seems at first to have been only a commercial speculation; but White and some other respectable puritans in Lincolnshire contrived to interest in this undertaking several others, and among them some religiously inclined men in London and the neighbourhood, who bought from the former a part of their rights. The whole affair now assumed a higher character, and it was openly announced that the object was to find a secure place of retreat for conscientious nonconformists.

The influence of these highly respected men soon attracted a number of allies, and in a short time thirty to forty members subscribed £1035; and in the course of the ensuing year, £745 more towards a common purse to begin the settlement with. Few ventured more than £25; some £50, and £75; Matthew Cradock, a rich merchant in London, gave £100. So small was the beginning of this great undertaking. The society

1628 was organized; Cradock was elected governor;

Thomas Goffe, deputy governor; eighteen others were chosen to be assistants; and, in the same year, John Endecott, one of the three remaining original possessors of the patent, was sent over with a small number of attendants, as agents of the company and general directors, till things should be more brought into working trim, and to lay plans for a greater colony.

* The Silent Sea is the beautiful name given by the Germans to the Pacific.

Endecott is described by a contemporary as a man "of bold spirit, undaunted but sociable, and of warm heart ; loving or severe, as the occasion demanded ; a proper tool to begin the work in the wilderness." His public career showed him to be one of those severe religious zealots, who only want the power to suppress, with as narrow a mind as iron will, all that threatens to darken what appears to them to be light. Of upright, but narrow mind ; willing to do good, but still more willing to employ despotic means to obtain it. Accompanied by his wife, he landed in Naumkeak ; and there, endowed with an active, creative mind, he laid the foundations of the now blooming, commercial town of Salem. Five or six of his companions immediately scoured the vicinity, and, traversing twelve miles of thick forest, came to an isthmus formed by two rivers, where stood an uninhabited Indian village. It was called Mishamum, and the inhabitants Abergines. They were ruled by a chief of mild, peaceable disposition, whom the English called sagamore John. Of the two rivers, one has retained its Indian name, Mystic, up to the present day ; the other was named by the English, Charles River. An Englishman, by trade a smith, had settled here among the Indians and built himself a house, fenced and roofed.

At this period of intolerable oppression in England, the desire for freedom became with many a mad licentiousness : many who came as colonists to this new country threw off all subserviency to law and opinion, and took to the wilderness, or withdrew amongst the Indians. Thus, at Point Shawmut, on the south side of the Charles River, a once episcopalian clergyman of the

name of Blackstone, whom the despotism of the prelates had driven from England, lived in a hut built by himself; and on a small island in the bay, called Noddles Island, an Englishman of property, called Samuel Maverick, had settled and built himself a fort, secured by four cannon. Although attached to the state-church, and really an enemy to the puritans, he courteously received and hospitably entertained any one of the new comers who visited him; probably because he was tired of doing nothing. On another neighbouring island, David Thompson, a planter at Piscataqua, in the service of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, had settled a couple of single men and called the island, after his own name, Thompson's Island. And now the small band spread still further. Instead of remaining in Naumkeak with the others, undisturbed at least, in possession, by any Indians, (for the place had been quite given up and abandoned by the natives,) ten or twelve of the new-comers settled, with Endecott's permission, in Mishamum; where, in the succeeding year, the beginning of Charlestown was laid.

Endecott, who had been sent to govern, in the interim, the whole district of the Society of Massachusetts, found at the same time an opportunity of employing his authority. In the year 1625, Captain Wollaston and some companions, all men of rank and wealth, accompanied by a numerous suite, had settled in Quincy, in Massachusetts, a little west of Weston's unfortunate plantation.

But after a long, and excessively costly effort, he
1627 gave up the affair, in order to try his fortune in
Virginia. From him the place received its name
of Mount Wollaston. He had left behind him some of

his servants and the overseer to conduct the plantation ; until he, with another of the company, returned. In the retinue of these noblemen was one Thomas Morton, who appears to have come over here in 1622, with the vagabonds of Weston. He was a man of great gifts, but of thoroughly low character : a ruined pettifogger from London, who had, at the time he came to the New World to try his fortune, bought a small share in the undertaking. Now that they whom he had shunned and feared were away, he roused up the servants to a complete mutiny, which ended in their expelling the overseer ; declaring themselves perfectly independent, and beginning a wild, profligate life. They sold to the Indians the estates which had been left by the possessors, obtained fresh ones by skilful barter, and spent their time in drinking-bouts, and such-like pastimes. On the first of May, they planted the May-pole in old English fashion, decked it, and hung it round with indecent verses ; invited the Indians to take part in their saturnalia, and endeavoured to out-do one another in wild revelry.

If such conduct appears hateful and contemptible to every sensible person, how must the severe inhabitants of Plymouth have felt themselves injured and roused to anger ? they in whose eyes the most innocent dance round the May-pole was a sin which reminded them of the heathenish games of Flora. But this was not all ; the mad disorder took a dangerous turn ; for, when at last these licentious men began to run short of gold and other commodities, Morton set to work to sell arms, powder and shot, to the Indians, and taught them their use, by sending them out to hunt for him

and his company, and by this means furnished himself plentifully with game for his banquets. The Indians seized upon these advantages with eagerness; used them with the greatest skill; and were willing to give, in return for these powerful means of defence, such great services, that Morton wrote for more arms from England. This was enough to instil fear into the planters scattered about the country; besides, they had long ceased to be sure of their servants, for, at any dissatisfaction, these escaped and joined Morton's gang, of whom the planters, who were detached, lived in more dread than of the Indians themselves. The chief persons among them now resolved to beg of the inhabitants of Plymouth, as being the strongest, to take the affair in hand, and to put an end to this disorder. They were the more willing to do this, as they had on their side the king's strict command not to sell any weapons to the Indians. They, however, first endeavoured, by a mission and letters, to bring Morton to a different kind of life; but when he received this with a laugh of contempt, Standish was sent against him with some armed men, who took him and his drunken companions prisoners, after a desperate defence, and carried them to Plymouth. From thence he was sent by the first opportunity, to be handed over to the council of New England; who, however, never even took any notice of the complaint of the settlers. His companions appear to have continued their wild life; for when, a month later, Endecott came to New England, he made it his first business to put a stop to their proceedings; he reproached them in severe terms for their profane behaviour, cau-

tioned them to behave better, had the may-pole cut down without any further ceremony, and named the height on which the plantation was situated, and which they had changed from Mount Wollaston into Merry Mount, in scriptural terms, Mount Dagon.

In all stages of growth, there will never be any lack of impediments and disturbances from evil-intentioned men. Whatever single men could do, was done by the brave men of Plymouth ; who stood, armed with strength and sagacity, at the head of a small, scattered band ; but neither was there any want of good-will and activity to fashion the whole thoroughly to a regular and practicable community. At their especial request, the society of Massachusetts received their confirmation from the king ; and the charter, whereby they were 1629 incorporated in perpetual succession "as governor and society of the Bay of Massachusetts, in New England ;" the latter being empowered to choose from amongst them a governor, vice-governor, and eighteen assistants, to make laws, of which the only condition was, that they should not be in contradiction to the laws of England : which, taken in the strict meaning of the word, excluded religious freedom ; but this point was passed over in silence, and the society did not hesitate to expound it for their benefit.

In an assembly held at London, on the 30th of April, the form of government for the new colony was established ; the immediate direction of their affairs was to be in the hands of thirteen of the wisest and most honest, experienced, and intelligent men resident in the colony ; the Society in London certainly reserved for

itself the first voice in all things; but the colonial government, under the title of "governor and council of the London colony of Massachusetts Bay in New England," were "to endeavour to the best of their judgment to govern the said plantation in the manner most conducive to the praise of God, and to the promotion and advancement of this hopeful plantation, and to the well-being and weal, and the encouragement of the society and all concerned in it." Endecott was elected governor. Among his councillors were three clergymen, whom the society had selected to send off.

For they never for one minute lost sight of the object they had in view; namely, to make the settlement in New England a place of refuge for God-fearing non-conformists. Two clergymen—one of whom, Higginson, a man of mild doctrines and severe discipline, had been forbidden to preach; the other, Skelton, who had been much oppressed by the bishops, without doubt on account of the self-will and fanatical narrow-mindedness which he afterwards displayed—were ready to go to America; nay, the call thither appeared to the former like a voice from God. Besides these there was a clergyman of the name of Bright, who had been educated under Devonport, a respectable puritanical preacher, but who inclined more to the forms of the high church. These were formally dispatched, and salaried by the society. To a youth of the name of Ralph Smith a free passage was granted, under the condition not to exercise his vocation within the district of the society, for he was a separatist, and, as such, regarded with mistrust by the puritans. Allotted to different
1629 ships, they went in the spring to America. In the

course of the early part of summer, not fewer than six ships arrived at Naumkeak, bringing with them 386 settlers, partly sent out by the society, partly brought over at their own expense ; of these, 300 were men, the rest women and children. In the harvest preceding, an increase had taken place, but sickness and death had since thinned their ranks and checked the activity of the healthy ; when Higginson arrived, he found, instead of a stately house for Endecott, only ten miserable huts. Still the strangers greeted it as a haven of peace and called it Salem, in allusion to the words of the psalm, "at Salem is his tent." A third party of the new comers, under the guidance of a skilful miner and engineer called Graves, whom the society had taken into their service, proceeded with the permission of the governor to Mishamum, and there founded Charlestown. To each cultivator were at once allotted two acres of land, and besides this a large common hall was erected, which afterwards served to perform divine service in, until they had provided themselves with a regular church.

More than two hundred of the newly arrived settlers remained in and about Salem, constituting a very respectable colony with those whom they found there, but who lived scattered in families over the whole colony. Under Endecott's direction they without delay elected Skelton as their pastor and Higginson to be their teacher. Bright, who did not thoroughly unite with them, but inclined rather to the episcopal church, went to Charlestown, and as he there met with little favour, left the place a year after for England. Smith, when he saw that he could not

be employed in Salem, went to Nantasket, the former residence of Conant, where some few settlers still dwelt. Here, in a miserable hut, and uncertain how he was to support himself, he was found by some Plymouthers who landed in a fishing boat, and took him back with them when he was elected their pastor.

Higginson and Skelton had received their consecration from the hands of the bishops, and had belonged to the non-conformist preachers, to whom it had, from motives of indulgence, for some time even been permitted to omit those points of the liturgy which they principally objected to. Thus Endecott and the greater part of the more respectable of the emigrants from England had kept to the state church, though more especially to the puritanical clergymen, and from time to time paid a stolen visit to one of the conventicles, to season a little their spiritual life. But they were by no means willing to take their chains with them into the wilderness. They had hitherto regarded the church of England as a true, though perverted church, and had refused to designate it, with the separatists, "the Antichrist," a title which according to their views only suited popery; when they quitted their fatherland they did not exclaim, "Farewell Babylon! farewell Rome!" but "farewell dear England!" But they eagerly employed their freedom in throwing off at one stroke their fetters, and preacher and community soon united to receive forms of worship very different from those of the episcopalians, and much in accordance with those of the independents in Plymouth; a liturgy, free extemporaneous prayers, and preachers in simple black gowns, were the principal features in the service. Endecott was a great

promoter of this reform ; he had previously made acquaintance with the Plymouthers, having asked and obtained the aid of a physician there (Dr. Fuller), in several cases of illness among the settlers. The doctor, who served in the church as deacon, had made him accurately acquainted with their constitution and discipline ; and such a character of glowing severity and fanatical strangeness had the separatists obtained, even among the other puritans, that the severe rigorist Endecott was astonished at their similarity to his own views of a purified church, and wrote to Bradford, " Your outward form of divine worship is, as far as I yet know, no other than what is guaranteed by the testimony of truth, and the same as I have acknowledged and maintained since the Lord has *revealed himself to me in grace, and very different from what common report says of you.*" Accordingly he and the clergymen agreed that ordination, like the choice of the pastor, is the right of the community, and that the former should take place only by laying on of hands, accompanied by prayers ; moreover that the Plymouth church should be invited as a witness to the founding of theirs, without, however, thereby involving any connexion, but that, on the contrary, both should be independent one of the other. The church of England was not mentioned, but the act overthrew her authority. This was the first congregational church founded in America, and afterwards served the others as a pattern, for this in Plymouth had already been founded in England, and carried complete to a foreign soil.

Thirty of the Salem planters united in a solemn covenant, and based the foundations of the new church

on the text, "Gather together my saints unto me ; those that have made a covenant with me by sacrifice." The confession of faith laid down in this covenant, and written by Higginson, breathes a spirit of Christian love and humility ; a spirit of lofty wisdom. There is in it nothing sectarian, separative, rejecting ; it not only contains no allusion to forms, but there is even no mention of doctrines ; it imposes on its followers only a severe struggle to make themselves possessors of the Christian virtues, awe of God, humility, love for one's neighbour, modesty, and obedience. Nay, in respect to discipline and reciprocal watching, those stumbling blocks of the puritanical churches, the fifth article expressly says, "in the community we will not, in order to display our gifts and qualities, be forward with speeches and objections, or there display the faults of our brethren and sisters, but await a special call thereto ;" and in regard to the democratic tendencies of their constitution, the seventh says, "we hereby vow to conduct ourselves with all lawful obedience to those who are set over us in the church, for we know that such is pleasing to God, that they may have encouragement in their offices when their spirits are not troubled by our departure from right." No one, however much he might be devoted to the high church, could have any thing to object to in this covenant. Hence when it was read before the assembly, summoned for the election of a preacher, it met with universal approbation ; but the kind of ordination, and prayers thereat, which were not those prescribed by the common Prayer Book—the intimation of introducing a severe church discipline, and the exclusion of some persons of bad character—soon showed those who thought otherwise

vere puritan church was to be founded here. A respectable brethren of the name of Brown, both of the Society of Massachusetts to be members of the council, and attached to the Episcopalian church, were not listened to; but as they were not listened to, they began to edify themselves by reading the Common Prayer Book.

But this liberty was not on any account to be allowed them. The puritans had from the very beginning claimed for themselves the right to interpret the Holy Scriptures according to their own views, and to honour God according to their own conscience. But they had taken up the idea of this Christian freedom with so little consistency, that at this time one of their most famous champions could say, "Heretics should suffer death; if this is bloody and over-driven, I am with the Holy Ghost content to be called so;" and, "I deny that any grace should follow repentance;" and, "the authorities who punish murder, and neglect the breach of the first commandment, begin at the wrong end," &c. This was also revealed by their conduct, even at the time they were so oppressed, to all who thought differently from themselves, and especially to the Arians and the baptists, whom they regarded with unspeakable detestation. Was it then to be expected that, when the power was at last given into their hands, at least to hold themselves free from the influences of false doctrine they should have self-denial enough, merely to appear consistent, to allow the snake to grow from whose gripe they scarcely thought themselves free, and which threatened, if it grew larger, to strangle them also? Perhaps this was expecting too much from men. They had

exchanged their beloved homes for a wilderness, in order to follow undisturbed the narrow way to salvation, the only one which their bigoted but honest delusion believed to be acceptable to God. To allow those of another opinion, especially the devotees of the prelates who had persecuted them, to take another path so like the old one from which they had just escaped, appeared to involve inevitably their expulsion from their own road ; for they, whose patrons had always the power of injuring the little freedom which had been conceded them, must ever be secret enemies to, and spies upon them.

Endecott and the council of Massachusetts had been furnished by the society with a very comprehensive police jurisdiction. They were authorised to appoint for every family a careful and watchful overseer, in order to inspect the labours of the people in the service of the society, and to keep books of their conduct. One of the first buildings to be erected was *a house of correction*, for the punishment of trespassers, and the overawing of those following their example. Order and industry were to be the watchwords of the new colony ; and as in England all announcing themselves for colonization were to be carefully purified from "vagabondism and good-for-nothingness," so were no "idle drones" to be allowed here, and constant occupation was to prevent disorder and crime. With the same end in view, Endecott was empowered to send back without delay any one who showed himself incorrigible. This power he now made use of in a very extended sense, and even against those of whom one had been a member of the body from which he had received his power. For the elder of the

brothers Brown, a skilful jurist, had belonged to the assistants' council, and both had been recommended to Endecott's especial protection ; but when these men assembled round them a party, and the society was threatened in its very infancy with division into two parties, the preachers strove first by means of argument to bring them over to their side, and when this had no effect, Endecott, resolved to carry out, at any cost whatever, his plan for complete church discipline, made use of his authority, and sent back both brothers in a ship that was returning to England.

These men, justly exasperated, banished from a colony they had helped to create, on their return breathed nothing but death and destruction against it, and it cost the society of Massachusetts endless trouble to lay the storm that threatened to destroy them. The high church of England had in no way given up, though she might have neglected her dominion over New England. She had up to the present time done all she had had the opportunity of doing. Robinson had been studiously kept back from joining and extending his community, and instead of him an episcopal clergyman was sent thither, in order to attempt a division ; but this was not all. As soon as the high council of New England sent off Robert Gorges to rule over the deserts allotted to the society, he was accompanied by an episcopal clergyman of the name of Morell, who took with him the authorization to superintend all the churches of New England ; but Morell was a man of strong, sound judgment ; he saw immediately how things stood, and how absurd it would be to attempt the direction of churches which did not yet exist.

Perhaps, too, literature interested him more than theology ; he remained above a year in America, during which time he described the land in a Latin poem of 300 to 400 verses, and then translated this into English rhyme. It was only at his departure that he casually mentioned his mission and authority to some of the men of Plymouth. It was now with justice to be feared that the church of England would be roused to greater activity by this assumption of the seceders. The friends of the colony were therefore anxious to quiet the two Browns, and to arrange the matter in a manner pecuniarily advantageous to them. Endecott received a reproof from the society, and never recovered his former position.*

But he, in conjunction with the clergymen and elders of the church, continued to act with perfect indifference and with the same decisive though, perhaps, narrow-hearted motives. No one was admitted to the church community who did not submit to an examination of his orthodoxy and inward holiness by the preachers and elders, or openly display to the community how grace had worked in him. They laid down the principle of a complete separation of church from state, and the elder of the church could not be a state officer. But in direct contradiction to this was the fact, that only members of the church could be freemen : only the voices of the godly could, in future, pass current in the idea which developed itself of the formation of their community. We shall shortly have occasion to speak more at length of this, in

* Chalmers says, but incorrectly, that the brothers Brown never received any compensation from the society of Massachusetts.

touching upon the foundation of Boston, so much weightier in its results. Here it will be enough to mention that, after Brown's departure, the measures of the leaders found little opposition. The colonists chiefly belonged to the working-classes and received fatherly care. Skelton was a man of blind zeal, narrow-minded, and of a temper soured by weakness and suffering. Formerly Endecott's tutor, he now leaned upon him, and both reciprocally exerted great influence on one another and always acted in concert. Higginson, on the contrary, was by nature liberal; and his views, like the church discipline he introduced, however bigoted and severe they may appear to us, were suited to his day. Regular attendance at church was demanded; family devotions and nursing of the poor made compulsory on every one; prayer and work divided their life, and pleasures of every kind, as leading to sin, were excluded.

It may be that the illness which ravaged the colony during the first winter had disposed them but little to amusement: the second party of emigrants had, during the voyage, been severely visited by scurvy—that pest of the early days of sea-voyaging. The contagion spread among them while they were as
1630
yet scarcely settled, and before spring eighty were dead. Higginson followed soon after. The Leyden friends of the community, who came over in the same ships, remained to a singular extent free.

But this sorrowful news did not in any way clog
1629
the zeal of the Massachusetts society. As soon as ever the colonial constitution was finished, the question was started in one of the assemblies, whether it was more advisable to transfer the government to New England

or to trust to hands and eyes three thousand miles off? Many respectable men in Lincolnshire, among the latter John Winthrop, a country squire who enjoyed the highest consideration, had united themselves to the adventurers for the purpose of seeking play room for their nonconformist opinions; but they made the transference of the charter one of the conditions of the settlement of their families. The question was examined on all sides with circumspection and conscientiousness; and reasons given for and against the decisions. The main doubt, whether such a transference of their charter were *legal* or not, as it had been conceded to them on the supposition that they would administer the colony just as the East Indian or Virginian company directed their affairs, was settled happily, and to their satisfaction, by jurists chosen from amongst them. Thus on the 29th of August, 1629, the transportation of the government charter to New England was unanimously agreed upon. Craddock and Goffe, though they voted for these rules, resigned, having no occasion to emigrate. In their place John Winthrop was chosen governor, and John Humphrey vice-governor. Among the assistants also, who were frequently changed, the principal were Isaac Thompson, married to a daughter of the noble house of Lincoln; Thomas Dudley, who had once been a soldier and afterwards served the chief as steward; and Sir Richard Saltonstall.

Very important powers were now set in motion in order to carry out the great undertaking in a proper manner. At an earlier period 200 acres of land had been granted to each member of the company who con-

tributed £50, and 50 more for every individual whom he brought over with him. As however they found that the sum given by the adventurers, which was destined for commerce, was not sufficient, they not only granted 200 acres to every one who contributed £50, and more or less in proportion, but also 50 acres to every one who went over at his own risk. But the colony was not to serve, like Virginia, as a place of refuge for vagabonds and thieves; emigrants were not admitted without examination and reference, and in the General Remarks which were circulated in England for the purposes of the undertaking, it was clearly stated that the best men alone must give a respectable basis to the daughter state about to be created.

Out of the adventurers were selected ten men worthy of confidence, who allowed themselves to be led by the general wish to assume for seven years the administration of the capital subscribed, as well as of the other arrangements; five of these, Winthrop, Johnson, Sir Richard Saltonstall, Dudley, and a Mr. Revell, went over with them; the other five, among whom were Craddock, and the future founder of New Haven, Theophilus Caton, who at first never thought of emigrating from England, remained at home; at the expiration of seven years all the capital and gains were to be divided among the society in proportion to the contributions, and thereupon the whole affair be dissolved; but it does not appear that at any time was a division effected, no mention being made of it either in the acts of Massachusetts or in the diary of Winthrop, which was drawn up with the greatest accuracy. Again, another article, that the expense of fortifying and the half of the

salary of the clergymen, were to be paid for out of the common funds, does not appear to be mentioned afterwards. On the contrary, we find the government of Massachusetts raising taxes for the former, and liquidating the latter out of the private funds ; so that here a link of continuity is at once lost.

1630 In the month of February of next year, a fleet of fourteen ships was lying ready in the western harbours of Great Britain, to take over to New England 700 or 800 emigrants, who increased in the course of the spring to 1500. Among these were many men of rank and standing ; workmen of all kinds, implements and provisions, 260 cows and other cattle.* However small this number may appear to us in comparison with the hundreds of thousands whom the stream of emigration yearly bears to the transatlantic havens, how great does it seem when we compare it with the meagre attempts of their predecessors ; with the small band of brave heroes of faith who with undaunted courage had, Bible in hand, broken a road into the wilderness ! Neglected, encompassed by enemies, battling with hunger and sickness, they stood unshaken like rocks that stem the ocean ; until their calm composure, their endurance, their honesty, brought them not only such respect from the *moderate* puritans their enemies, that Cotton, one of the most respected preachers

* Several cows and some horses were given also to the colonists of Salem. As regards the costs of transport, it may not be uninteresting to compare the prices of the emigration period, in which we live, with those of the transports. At that time the undertakers of colonization pledged themselves to take goods at £4 per ton to, and at £2 from America ; every grown person at £5, exclusive of provisions. Of the Salem emigrants we find the cost of transport set down at £15 per head, including provisions.—*Prince*, 256, 68.

of this class, recommended them at their departure to employ the counsel and experience of the men of Plymouth on all occasions; but it even procured them from the council of New England the honourable testimony of the charter, which assured them complete independence.

CHAPTER IX.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE COUNCIL OF NEW ENGLAND.
CONDITION OF THE COLONY OF PLYMOUTH.

IN the mean time, the whole interest of this council (called also the society of Plymouth) in America seems to have consisted in the sale of patents, after their monopoly of trade and fishing had met with such opposition. One part of the land sold to the adventurers of Massachusetts had been already bartered away to Weston; another to Captain Wollaston and his comrades; a third, perhaps the same for which Weston had already paid, to Robert Gorges. We do not find that the adventurers made any opposition to the right acquired by the others, or that these rights had been satisfied by them. A new patent was also granted to Colonel Mason, which embraced pretty nearly all the present state of New Hampshire, comprising at any rate a part of the land bought by the society of Massachusetts. In spite of this Hilton, who had come to the country in the service of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, but soon after begun a colony at his own expense in Piscataqua, received in the following year a portion of land from the society of Plymouth, which was not in the boundary of the district sold to Colonel Mason. His settlement grew, little by little, into a respectable

place. In Maine also, the lands were repeatedly sold, on which occasion excursions were even made into the French territory. The definitions of the boundaries were often couched in very obscure terms, and, like the incomplete maps of that time, without any personal knowledge of the land, and their realization left to the right of the strongest. Hostile collisions, disorders, and endless disputes about rights, by which later generations suffered, were the inevitable results.

The men of Plymouth also received, as has been stated, a patent for the land which they 1630. had already in fact possessed for nine years. It embraced, besides the peninsula formed by the bay of Cape Cod, a district of about ten miles broad and eleven long; and allowed them full liberty to conduct their own affairs, to carry on a trade, and to make their own laws, so far as these were not inconsistent with those of England. The same document, addressed to William Bradford and his companions, granted to them a right to a more considerable stretch of land on the Kennebeck than their previous patent. Although it had cost them a considerable sum, it yet remained incomplete, from not having received the king's signature, which was afterwards refused under all sorts of pretexts, though at first only withheld by accidental circumstances. But we neither find that this event had the slightest influence in point of fact, nor that their right to the land, or to the jurisdiction, was on this account ever called into question; nor that they ever felt themselves less secure in their rights, although they gave themselves much trouble to obtain this signature, in order to complete the form. The patent was drawn up

in the name of Bradford and his companions, and had been paid for by the undertakers of 1627 alone; but it was given up to the government, with very little reservation of land for himself and them, so soon as his countrymen expressed a wish about it. This is the period when the settlement of Plymouth, which has hitherto exclusively occupied our attention, falls into the background. Larger masses, composed of more diverse elements, and producing more important effects, now roll before our view over the settlements of Massachusetts and Connecticut; until the simple, serenely secluded existence of the original settlers vanishes completely in the relaxed, but more expanded, life of the others. A condensed view of their situation before we part, in order to regard Plymouth still as an individual member of the growing body, will perhaps not be unacceptable to the reader.

The colony of Plymouth, which had begun with a hundred members, had increased to about four hundred. The disproportionate mortality which had taken place during the first months, was almost counterbalanced by the very small number of deaths in the time following. Nevertheless, the meagre increase cannot astonish us, when we consider how very little attraction the one-sided opinions and severe discipline of the men of Plymouth must have had for planters of another creed, encouraging none but men holding the same belief to settle among them; nay, poor as they were, they even rather sent back to England the non-acceptable new-comers, than expose their select community to the evil influence of heterogeneous elements. No one will dispute with them, who had sought out a

distant corner of the earth in order to worship God in peace and unity, the right to exclude from their community those who held another opinion. Their number satisfied them, and was about the same that their community had once had. Besides, the adjoining patches of ground were the stoniest and most unfruitful soil in Massachusetts, and the settlers, as we have above related, when they for the first time sailed into the Bay of Massachusetts, complained loudly that they had not rather pitched their tents here instead of having been driven by the inclement season to the most thankless spot in New England.

Moreover, they always contemplated a change of settlement, and in the year 1644 the plan was drawn up; and the resolution was taken to transport the whole church formally to Nawset, their first landing place on Cape Cod; but they soon saw that they would be there but little bettered as to the soil, and that all the trouble they had had in cultivating Plymouth would be lost; but the place was already bought and some malcontents betook themselves to it, whence arose the village of Eastham. At an earlier date many of them had sought out better fields in the north, on the shores of the Bay of Plymouth. Among these was Standish, in honour of whom the settlement was called Duxborough. In the year 1632, when the colony had considerably increased, settlers enough had come together to form a community; and as going to Plymouth to church was burthensome to them, and they were formally liberated from the community, they built themselves a new house of God and elected a preacher called Partridge, formerly belonging to the church of

England, who, in the taste of his time, used to call himself "The Partridge that was chased in the mountain forest till it took its flight over the ocean to New England."

In the same way sprang up, in tempting meadow lands, not far distant from the sea, Scituate and Marshfield, where Winslow settled in the very place which now-a-days helps to form the summer residence of Daniel Webster. Further inland arose Bridgewater and Middleborough. In 1640 the colonists of Plymouth had spread over eight settlements; in 1686, when the colony was divided into the three districts of Plymouth, Barnstable and Bristol, they had twenty inhabited towns.

The constitution and government of this colony were a strange, and in our time scarcely intelligible, mixture of theocratic and patriarchal simplicity with demagogic freedom. It long existed in complete harmony as a "pure, unmixed, and complete democracy, where all the power was exclusively used by the whole body of the burghesses or coadjutors," without organized constitution, as a free united society; and their only holders of power, the governor and his assistants,* held their authority more by the general consent than by a legally fixed power. For more than eighteen years this governor, and assistants, chosen for him by the citizens, were the only representatives of the people. In 1630 the towns first began to send deputies to the legislature. The office of justice of peace was unknown; courts were held in the general assembly

* Select men, that is, police officers, were first chosen in 1649; and in 1666 their duties were expanded.

before jurymen, who, twelve in number, were chosen out of the whole body of the citizens. In 1623 we find the first example of such a court; the punishments previously inflicted had been awarded by the governor and assistants, after sundry examinations, and according to their own judgment, without ever finding opposition: in 1634 the assembling of the governor and his assistants constituted for the first time a legal court of justice.

In 1636 they composed their first book of law, under the title of "The General Fundamentals of the colony of Plymouth." The first article decrees that no act, tax, law, or ordination, shall in future be made or imposed on them without the consent of the burgesses or their legal representatives. The second, that, for the better conducting of the affairs of the colony, there shall be chosen every year a governor, vice-governor, and assistant. Only members of the church could be burgesses. Altogether the book introduced no novelties, and only brought together what had been previously executed without forms. In civic affairs one of the more respectable and most trustworthy members was elected umpire, or the parties were reconciled in a friendly manner, in which brotherly love prevailed. Thus, in the year 1633, when Winslow first officiated as governor, after Bradford had uninterruptedly filled the difficult office for twelve years, one of the assistants was deputed by the court to pay certain debts out of the property left at the death of a married couple, of the name of Gadbertson, while the brother of the wife, Isaac Allerton, who had by far the most to claim, freely waived it until all the others were satisfied. In general the

laws of England passed current, and Winslow, in one of his defences, states, that he had himself taken his statute book with him to the court to consult; and during their long stay in Holland they might well have forgotten some parts of it, more particularly as it appears that there were no regular jurists among them*. They also in a great measure regulated their conduct according to the laws of Moses, without, however, like the Massachussetters, adopting all its bloody severity. In 1630 an execution was found necessary. John Billington, the same on whom the first act of punishment was executed after their settling here, had, out of revenge, waited in ambush for one of his companions and shot him. They, however, did not decide upon the punishment of death without mature consideration. "In his trial," says Bradford, "we have done all that was right; he was found guilty both before a grand and a petty jury. We have also asked counsel of Mr. Winthrop and other able men of Massachusetts, who all agreed that he must die and that the land must be purified from blood." Eight years after, they were less particular, and executed at once three men who had slain an Indian to rob him.

As was expressly stated, the law of God, that is the code drawn up by Moses for the Jews, formed the basis of their newly published fundamentals, which in the sixty years of their independent existence were several times renewed without their character being in the least altered. Death was only adjudged for rebellion against

* "We follow the customs and usages of England so far as our position allows; but as the garments of a grown up man, put upon a child, would rather oppress and stifle than cover and shelter it, as being too heavy; so I have often said that the laws of England, taken as a whole, are too unwieldy for our weak state."—*New England's Salamander*.

the king, murder, and a compact with the devil by witchcraft ; the other punishments were imprisonment in the stocks and flogging, but principally fines.—A prison was first built in 1641. The police laws, which made their way into the interior of families in a manner which arouses indignation—the body having generally, in patriarchal fashion, constituted itself watchers of the discipline and morals of individuals—were of ruthless severity. It was one of the duties of the select men, who were the police officials, to watch over the morals of families, and particularly to take cognizance of neglect of church-going. No young man could dwell alone or join a family without the consent of the select men. Cursing was punished with three hours sitting in the stocks ; lying, with two hours, or a fine of 10s. We even find that the latter was sometimes more severely punished, as for instance—R. S. for having lied in saying that he saw whales, 20s. fine. Some lies, which injured the weal of the community, were in 1669 punished with a fine of £5 ; in case of inability to pay, bodily punishment was resorted to. Neglect of going to church was punished each time with a fine of 5s. to 10s., according to circumstances. Overcharging in trade was severely fined. We read that T. C. was fined 30s., because he had sold for 15s. a pair of boots which had only cost him 10s. ; and a proportionate fine for selling rye at 5s. a bushel, which had only cost him 4s. ; and beer for 2*d.* a quart which was only worth 1*d.* Playing at cards was punished with a fine of 50s. Servants and children who played at dice, or other forbidden games, were to be chastised, at first by their masters or parents ; for a

second offence publicly whipped. He who proposed marriage to a servant girl without having first obtained the consent of her father and master was punished, according to the discretion of the judges, with bodily chastisement, or mulcted in a sum not exceeding £5. He who denied that the Holy Ghost was the guide of life was punished also at the discretion of the judge, bodily, with the proviso that neither limb nor life should be endangered.

The following cases will characterize the laws of Plymouth :—T. S., for drinking too much, 10s. R. W. and M. O., for marrying without the consent of their parents; £10, and imprisonment so long as the judges should think proper. E. M. for assisting, 20s. H.R., for having insulted her husband, was condemned to be publicly whipped, and pardoned at the urgent request of herself and others, with a warning for the next time. R. B., cited before the court for having spoken contemptuously of psalm singing, as he expressed himself penitent, was only sharply cautioned against repetition. N. B. and J. P. 20s. for making a noise in the church of Duxborough; besides this, they were both sentenced at the next meeting to be bound in a public place to a post, with papers on their heads, on which were written their misdemeanors. Mistress* J. B., for slander, was condemned to sit in the stocks so long as the court should think fit, also with a paper about her head, on which her misdemeanor was to be written in large letters. But sin against the solemnity of the sabbath was taken cognizance of with especial seve-

* The title Mistress was at that time given also to unmarried ladies. In every case it denoted a person of station.

The puritans had declared themselves with one-narrowness against the heathenish, Jewishing of the place ; but, with very little consistency, retained the idea of hallowing the time. The place for them was not a holy place, nor the priest a person ; but the sabbath, for the heathenish name Sunday was an abomination in their eyes, was a holy day, to be devoted to entire repose from all the duties and claims of the material world, and to be dedicated to the service of God. While they defended with scripture quotations every aberration from the church of England, they left without comment those words of the apostle which free the Christian from the law of the Jewish celebration of the sabbath ; “ One man esteemeth one day above another ; another esteemeth every day alike. Let every man be fully persuaded in his own mind. He that regardeth the day regardeth it to the Lord, and he that regardeth not the day regardeth it not to the Lord.” Nay, they read his command, “ Let no man therefore judge you in meat or in drink, or in respect of an holiday, or of the moon, or of the sabbath day ;” and his reproof, “ Ye observe days and months, and times and years. How turn ye again to the weakened beggarly elements, whereunto ye desire to be again in bondage ;”—but without noticing either. They had come to the conclusion that a Christian’s devotion should not be limited to a particular place, and not even to a certain day, but that his whole life should be entwined with the thought of God ; but that for him every day should be the day of the Lord was as yet strange to them, and the punishment for breach of the sabbath was, as being the sin against God, in all puritanical states, the most

severe of any ; but even here the men at Plymouth were in some degree reasonable, and did not affix the punishment of death to sabbath breaking, as the Jews and the men of Massachusetts did. A fine of 20s. or 30s. and a few hours in the stocks, or public whipping, were the atonements for the offence of being found at any kind of work on Sunday, or at business, or on a journey. Such as were compelled by necessity to travel, had to provide themselves with a written permit. The peering eye of the church penetrated into the most private sanctuaries of families. J. W. received a severe reprimand from the court for having written a note about ordinary business on the day of the Lord. W. H. was condemned to a fine of 10s., for having brought in wood on a sabbath, perhaps destined to prepare dinner for his family.

The church was thus the real ruler, although no civic power was conceded to her, and her punishments were limited to mere reproofs and exclusion. A species of church aristocracy naturally arose from making membership of the church an indispensable requisite for attaining the citizenship, besides creating a system of hypocrisy and show-holiness. It was not the priesthood which ruled, but the church community, "the elect," to whom God had declared himself ; "the holy of the Lord," by whose voice the Lord spake. It is therefore not strange that the elements of opposition, which lay hidden in the breast of every lover of freedom, at first developed themselves in their church. So long as they lived in complete seclusion from the world they were well secured against falling off and innovation, though even

Lyford, who did not obtain much esteem, met with some adherents; but when the population of Massachusetts poured out from all parts of England, sects soon formed, and as early as 1637, they were obliged to exclude some from the holy community, not on account of godless conduct, but "because of their detestable opinions." When, at a later period, the quakers made an irruption on the churches of New England, their persevering intrusion brought over not a few to their side and the church of Plymouth had to battle hard against "these wolves in sheep's clothing, who threatened to corrupt the poor flocks of Christ." Moreover, their discontent with the position and the soil, and the numerous daughter churches which were in consequence formed in other places, threatened the church of Plymouth with decay. "In such a manner," the church registers complain, "was the poor church forsaken, like an aged mother by her children (though they do not forget her love), in respect to all her personal capacity for assistance and actual bodily presence; for her old members had mostly been carried off by death, and such as remained out of ancient times, transplanted like children into other families, and she, like a widow, left to her trust in God."

The pastors never seem to have felt themselves quite comfortable about the constitution of independent churches. Their personal influence was at times very great, but in their official importance they found themselves much impeded by the constant control, not only of the community in general, but also of each individual brother, and their pastoral as well

as their preaching duties transferred to all members ; for those better acquainted with the Bible, and especially the “blessed of God,” were accustomed to be summoned by the leading elder to expound and prophecy, and to let their light shine by prayers before their community. The mass of the people were especially averse to a “learned priesthood.” From the beginning also an evil star had ruled over their choice of preachers. Bitterly undeceived in their hopes of a junction with Robinson, they had been obliged to battle against Lyford’s hypocrisy, the craziness of Rogers, and the inefficiency of Smith ; so when Roger Williams preached to them, whose abrupt separation from the episcopal church gave them promise, whilst his eccentricities, and especially the liberality of his views, were disagreeable to them. None of their preachers, though worthy men, and quite in accordance with them in point of doctrine, could stay with them any length of time. Norton, who came from England, and landed in Plymouth, and who was fixed upon to be their shepherd, left them half-a-year after. During the longer tenure of office of his successors, there was no want of manifold bickering. Ephraim Little who died in 1669, was the first preacher that ended his days in Plymouth. In 1662 it was determined, at a synod of all the New England churches, that all the baptized are in a certain sense to be regarded as members of the Christian church, and shall enjoy their privileges. The only thing they reserved for the “born again” was the enjoyment of the communion, making church brotherhood a condition of the civic station, the exclusiveness of which, in a state founded by brothers of

a church, and from which they wished to exclude all who thought otherwise, may in some measure be presupposed, and does not require to be sought for in a particular kind of illiberality, first excited murmurs in a larger community. The colonists of Massachusetts had, under conditions of worldly profit, invited settlers, in order to increase their capital. Those of Plymouth rejected all of a different belief, without asking if the increase of strength they would gain by admitting them could be of any use to them. Here, as well as there, men began in 1664 to be less severe in demanding, and, twenty years after, this condition of civic dignity was quite abandoned.

But however men may think of the political and church system of the colonists of Plymouth, no one who takes into consideration the difficulties and dangers through which God's dispensation led them, and who traces the course of their painful passage to prosperity, can refuse his esteem and sympathy to those God-fearing men who first broke into the wilderness. Even their opponents confess that they strove with heroic spirit against misfortune, and enjoyed prosperity with moderation and wisdom. They had bought, with the greatest sacrifices, the right to live according to their religious opinions; no reasonable person will contest them the right of excluding those who thought differently from their community, selected from the whole state, to maintain for themselves the corner of the earth which they had made fertile with the sweat of their brows. If we cannot then admire their wisdom, we have certainly no right to complain of their intolerance. Brewster and Bradford, who, next

to Robinson, had the most influence over the community, were possessed of a pure Christian spirit—that is, the spirit of love. Both participated but very little in the over-strict nature of the elder separatists, of which we have already seen an example in their attacks on Johnson's wife. Bradford, who communicates the fact, speaks of it with deep disgust.* The opinion of these two excellent men could not fail to influence the spirits of the commonwealth.

In fact, the citizens of Plymouth showed themselves, in regard to religious toleration, not only more tolerant, but of much freer spirit than their brothers in Boston. The course of this history will show that Roger Williams, though foreign to their views, led a peaceable life among them, and that the unlucky enthusiast, Anne Hutchinson, and her friends, found an asylum among them when the Boston community drove them away. Nay, they even wished to allow one of their preachers, of the name of Chancey, whom they really honoured very much, to baptize by immersion, as he had declared this to be alone the right kind of baptism, provided he would only consent to extend the sprinkling to those cases where it was wanted. Certainly, a rare example of toleration in the first half of the seventeenth century.

* Bradford relates an anecdote of his tour which characterises the spirit of the old severe puritans. A pious countryman, who had long been in prison, and now wished to leave the kingdom, first visited an old woman, who had formerly been very kind and helpful to him. At the parting embrace, the half-blind matron discovered that he, clothed in coarse grey cloth, still wore a collar, which, though of the most ordinary linen, and not worth more than three-pence, had been made stiff with starch. She at once broke out into violent reproaches about this vain worldly ornament, and prophesied that if he did homage to Satan by sinful vanity, the Lord would not bless his journey.—*Dialogue in Chronicles*, 447.

They treated the quakers without any forbearance, but in no way with that barbarous severity which was meted out to them in the neighbouring colonies; and the irrepressible obtrusion with which this strange sect, in all the youthful glow of life, threw themselves in the way of persecution, and with defiant brow courted martyrdom, may in some measure excuse the authorities, annoyed and abused by them in every possible way; although, perhaps, they sometimes misused their right of punishing disturbers of the peace. Although faith stood higher than love among the Christian virtues of the men of Plymouth, yet this was by no means rare among them; only they used it more for the salvation of their brethren, than in forgiveness of their sins.

The strictest unselfishness was observed in the administration of the civic affairs. The governor, with all his hard work, for a long time had no salary. At last, in 1665, a petty allowance of £50 a-year was accorded him. So little ambition was there to become possessed of places in authority, that they were obliged to fix a fine on those who declined them. The strictest integrity reigned in all their intercourse with the Indians. We have seen how conscientiously they repaid, in six months, the corn, which at their arrival they found buried in the earth. The land on which they settled lay blight-stricken and forlorn, and the kindred of its former possessors voluntarily ceded to the settlers their rights in it. "I think," writes, in 1675, governor Josiah Winslow, son of Edward Winslow, "I may safely say that before the present troubles broke out,

the English had not a foot of land in these colonies which they had not procured by fair purchase." The history of these disturbances, and the participation of New England in them, belongs to the General History of New England.

CHAPTER X.

COLONY OF MASSACHUSETTS. FIRST PROCEEDINGS,
FROM 1630 TO 1633.

ON the 20th of March, 1630, the first of the emigrant ships destined for Massachusetts bay, a vessel of considerable size for that age, being of 400 tons, left the haven of Plymouth in England.* She carried over a community of severe puritans, very recently composed from families in Dorsetshire and the neighbouring parts of the country, entirely with a view of emigration to Plymouth. They numbered one hundred and forty. Besides their preachers, Maverick and Warham, there were among them many respectable men; among others, two assistants, Rossiter and Ludlow; three who were called "Captains," and fourteen bearing the title of master, at that date a distinctive sign of men of the higher class.

After a passage of seventy days, they reached America on the 30th of May; but did not make the regular haven, which the unskilful skipper could not find. He therefore landed them without any further ceremony on the point of Nantasket, and disembarked them and their goods, leaving them to take care of themselves. They hired a boat of an old planter, whom they found

* At the end of February, the *Lion*, commanded by William Pierce, had sailed from Bristol; but this is generally considered as belonging to the fleet who had founded the colony of Massachusetts.

here, and rowed over to Charlestown. But the miserable beginning which had been made there, offered them no attractions, and perhaps they wished to remain an exclusive community. A hundred of the most steady worked their way up the river to where it became shallow, and with great labour carried their goods up the steep shores. But they had scarcely done this, when they heard that three hundred Indians were lying close by; the old planter, who served them as interpreter, soon dispelled their fright, and established a friendly intercourse between them and the Indians, and fish was exchanged for ship biscuit and things which they could well spare. They now sent to their comrades, whom they had left near Charlestown, together with all the cattle they had brought with them. But these had in the mean time looked about them for a proper place to settle in, and had found, south of Charlestown, a fair piece of land, to which a peninsula was attached, admirably adapted for the pasturage of their cattle.* Hither they called their companions in the beginning of June. Houses were built, and the basis laid of a flourishing colony. The place which they had selected was called by the Indians Matapan, but the settlers named it Dorchester, in honour of the pastor White, of Dorchester, who had brought their community together. The congregational church which they founded here was the second in Massachusetts.

On the place of which they previously had possession, on the north shore of the Charles River, was built Watertown. It was erected by their companions, who at a later date succeeded them there. In neither place

* Now South Boston.

was any obstacle raised by the Indians, who received them amicably and allowed them to build in quiet.

The inhabitants of Charlestown, on the contrary, had lived in great dread of the natives, for the sagamore John, who lived near them in Misshawum, and who wished them well, had disclosed to them that the Narragansetts were preparing for war against the Plymouthers and intended to cut off all the whites. The men of Charlestown set sturdily to work to strengthen themselves by ditches and similar means, and under the skilful guidance of Graves the engineer, women and children rendered assistance by digging and carrying. The labourers happening to fire their cannon to clean them, the unexpected noise spread such terror through the neighbourhood, that it reached even the Narragansetts, who, struck with awe, stopped their preparations.

In the mean time twelve other ships, which were lying in Southampton, had been got ready for sea. But here we may see how little reliance can be placed on human resolutions. It would not be an easy matter to find a society of more sober, determined, and calm men than the leaders of these puritans. But it soon appeared that their imagination had captivated their judgment, and threatened to bring upon them perils and privations with which they were not able to cope. Just before their departure, Humphrey, the vice-governor, and three of the assistants, withdrew, and they were obliged to hold a sitting, to choose new officials, on board the admiral's ship called the *Arabella*, in honour of *Arabella*, Countess of Lincoln; the choice of Vice-governor fell on Thomas Dudley.

Some days after, in the beginning of April, this ship, with three other of the largest vessels, carrying the most respectable persons of the colony, stood out to sea. They laid-to off the Isle of Wight, and from Yarmouth they dispatched that remarkable farewell address to their brethren of England, which, in the feelings it gives utterance to, contrasts so strongly and incomprehensibly with the severity of their after-behaviour. We shall have an opportunity, when detailing the church affairs of Massachusetts, to refer again to this circular.

In the course of April the eight ships followed them, and some months later three others, so that the number of ships which this year carried emigrants to Massachusetts Bay amounted to seventeen. In spite of the fine weather, not one of them arrived before the 12th of June. The *Arabella*, which left Southampton on the 29th of March, and Yarmouth on the 7th of April, arrived the first, and was closely followed by two others. Wind and fog had dispersed the fleet, and it was only on the 11th of July that all the ships safely reached America. In some of the vessels sickness had broken out; and on board the *Talbot*, which had been three months on the passage, the small-pox had carried off fourteen persons. In several ships all the cattle had died. Some landed in Charlestown, and some in Salem. The arrival of one of the ships was marked by a sad catastrophe. Governor Winthrop had left his family behind him in England, and came accompanied only by two of his sons. Henry, the eldest of them, a promising lively young man, had left behind him in England a young wife, who, with her yet unborn child, and the rest of the party, was to follow him; and he had, while

in Yarmouth, been separated by an accident from his father, and came in one of the later ships. The day after his arrival he was drowned in a little bay, and the diary of his father mentions no particulars concerning it.

Although this loss was of itself enough to shake to the very centre the noble man to whom all looked up as their counsellor and staff of support, and however Christian-like might be his resignation, yet there were in store for him other trials, which could only have been borne with composure by a man whose mind was fortified with the most stoical indifference, aided by Christian resignation. For they found the colony, which had cost the society such heavy sums, in a most miserable condition. Death had swept away countless victims; some lay prostrate with sickness, and the others stormed him with demands for help and provisions, which they had expected to receive by the ship, so painfully and anxiously looked for. There was scarcely corn enough left to supply them for fourteen days; and it now turned out that, by some inexplicable neglect, the ships which should have brought the provisions had, after these had been changed from one vessel to another, finally sailed without them, so that there was scarcely food enough for the new comers themselves, and the undertakers found themselves compelled, in order that every one might shift for himself as he best could, to set free those of the servants who had been sent over the year previous and who had cost the society considerable expense.

Under such circumstances we cannot wonder that both the governors were dissatisfied with Salem, and

that they ascribed, although incorrectly, the weak shattered state of the colony to its position. They accordingly broke up some days after, in order to seek out another place for their head town. Sometimes reasons appeared for choosing this, sometimes for that position. Charlestown, situated on a peninsula about a mile and a quarter long and half-a-mile broad, and only connected by a small tongue with the main land seemed, from its narrow dimensions, but little suited for the seat of government and for further extension.

Nevertheless the governors decided upon beginning there, partly because some houses and preparations were already established on it, and partly because the rapid spread of illness among their comrades made it more and more necessary at once to find some point for settling on. They accordingly brought their goods thither, and the governor's assistants and other partakers in the patent took up their abode in the large house built the year before by Graves, while the remainder dwelt in huts, tents, and booths, built round the hill, which had been fortified a short time previously by the former settlers. The two clergymen, Wilson and Philipps, preached under the shadow of a tree.

But they were soon painfully taught that they had not bettered themselves, as far as regarded a healthy position. More than fifteen hundred human beings lay at first in the wet half-open huts, deprived of every comfort; there was no fresh food to be had, and fever and scurvy soon laid prostrate the greater number of those who had arrived there. Nay, the pest and sickness were soon so general, that there were not sufficient workmen to mount the cannons, and those who were still on foot had scarcely

strength enough to render the necessary assistance to the helpless. Death followed death. They buried the departed in their own immediate vicinity, amidst the huts and tents still tenanted by the living. A mournful sadness reigned on every side, and those who suffered most complained least. No one murmured, and they could boast of many an instance of Christian love and devotion.

Winthrop thought he recognized the chastening hand in these dispensations of God, and that it was necessary to propitiate the God of wrath by outward recognition, and accordingly a day of fasting and penance was fixed upon for the three divisions of the colonists at Salem, Matapan, and Charlestown, and the church of Plymouth was summoned by Dr. Fuller, who, as assistant physician, and Edward Winslow, who, as Bradford's ambassador, were at present among the strangers, to join in brotherly prayer and humiliation with them. On the same day Winthrop, Dudley, Johnson, and Wilson the preacher, met together, for the purpose of forming a solemn covenant, and thus founded the church of Charlestown. On the next day five other respectable men gave in their adhesion; they were imitated immediately by several more, and Wilson was now first chosen to be their pastor.

Even if outward dispensations could be regarded as indications of the approval or wrath of God, they could still in no way consider their God as propitiated by this manifestation of their opinions, for the disease continued to gain ground. This was partly ascribed to their living so crowded together, partly to the want of good water, for although the peninsula of Mishawum pos-

sesses many good springs, yet they had as yet only discovered one, and that did not yield enough, by a long way, to supply so many. They accordingly began to spread themselves about the country, on the far side of the tongue of land, without, however, forming a distinct settlement, and Charlestown then, as now, was separated into two parts, one inside, the other outside of "the neck." Some went up the river, where they found fresh water, in the very place which had charmed the settlers of Matapan. A number of colonists, under the guidance of Sir Richard Saltonstall, and accompanied by Philipps, the clergyman, betook themselves thither, and built Watertown; others went up the Mistik, where they planted Meadland.

Some again went over the Charles River, on the south side of which a larger and hilly peninsula, called by the Indians Shawmut, about two miles long and one broad, united, like the former, only by a narrow strip of land to the continent, seemed to tempt them. This half island, the present Boston, had from one side of the river the appearance of three mountains hanging together, and had on this account been called "Tri Mountain" by the English. It was not inhabited by Indians, and a single Englishman had settled there some years previously, on the west end. He was the above-mentioned clergyman, Blackstone, who had, in 1625, wandered away from England on account of non-conformity. In this deep solitude he had built himself a little house, and dedicated his life to the cultivation of a fruit garden, in which he "brought up" the first apples that ever grew in New England. The natural impulse to sociality seems at once to have vanquished

his disposition to solitude and independence, which is comprehensible enough, when we remember that he had, perhaps, scarcely ever seen a countryman for the last five years, with the exception of those who had been in his immediate vicinity in the foregoing summer. Enough—he came to Governor Winthrop, and related to him, that near his dwelling was a “spring both fresh and fair,” and likewise that the half island was rich in sweet water. He herewith invited them to settle there, without forgetting to put in his claim to the land, as being the first who had ever set foot on it. This also was accorded to him, so far, that he at once received an allotment of fifty acres, which, in 1634, when he began to feel himself somewhat hemmed in by the neighbourhood, were bought off his hands by the inhabitants. The immediate result of this intimation was, that many Englishmen settled there, among others Isaac Johnson, one of the head emigrants, who had hitherto remained behind in Salem, a man distinguished by his wealth, as by his noble and pious spirit.

A fifth little band, under the guidance of William Pynchon, settled on the main land, a little south-west of this half island, between Boston and Dorchester, without mixing with the latter community: out of this Roxburgh arose. A sixth formed a link of union between the new settlements and Salem, and was doubtless recruited from this place. The Indians called this spot Sawgus, as well as the river on which it lay. Here the English built Lynn, and thus, in the course of the first summer, seven different towns had sprung up, out of which, in the two next years, as many church communities arose. In the long run there only remained in

Charlestown seventeen families, who, however, rapidly increased again.

Though two great evils, want of room and good drinking water, were now removed, yet the third, want of food, could only be obviated by the governor's hiring and sending a ship as speedily as possible to Ireland to buy corn there. The opportunity of returning was eagerly seized upon. Revil and Vassal, two of the assistants, after they had been scarcely a month in the country, and Bright, a clergyman, who had arrived there a year previously, and who could not put up with the puritanical ideas of his community, and probably found himself superfluous after Wilson's arrival, went back with the ship.

Meanwhile the fearful mortality continued, and many women fell victims to it. Pynchon, Philipps the preacher, and many men of importance, lost their wives. Especial sympathy was awakened by the death of the Countess Arabella, a lady who, says an old historian of the next generation, "came into this wilderness from a paradise of joy and superfluity, which she enjoyed in an ancient and noble family." The wanderers felt themselves particularly honoured by the sympathy of the high and noble family of Lincoln in their undertaking, and by their religious union with them. On the journey, as everywhere else, the highest respect was manifested towards the countess. In the "day-books" of that time we find her simply alluded to as "the Lady." She was always treated with especial deference in all that the women undertook, as witness the phrases "Lady Arabella and the other ladies," or "the Lady Arabella and the wives and children." Her melan-

choly and premature death did not deter her sister Susannah, four years later, from accompanying to New England her husband, Humphrey, one of the assistants who had remained in Europe.

Of much greater influence on the weal of the community was the death of Arabella's husband, which followed only a month after, and it is said was hastened, if not occasioned, by grief for her he had lost for ever. The loss of this man was most painfully felt; for he was noble, rich, and of high connexion, most warmly devoted to the interests of the society, and one of the five undertakers for the management of the whole enterprise. He died perfectly collected; declaring that he considered his life better applied to the promotion of this colony than in any other way. He is to be regarded as the real founder of Boston, for those who outlived him built their houses about the lands he had taken possession of for himself in the finest part of the town; and around his grave, which, by his special directions, was dug in the upper part of his own grounds, were entombed those who died after him, and the resting spot still serves as a place of burial for the inhabitants of Boston.

Another of the assistants, Rossiter, was swept off by death, so that of the twelve who first came from England only eight now remained; the number of the new arriviers who died in the first years is generally estimated at two hundred at the lowest; a serious loss, but much smaller than what the Salemers had suffered, and still less than that which had once befallen the Plymouthers, those valiant pioneers of the waste. But it was evident that the present colony was constituted of more hetero-

geneous elements than the former, which was evidenced by the petty spirit that gained ground in it. Whilst the former valiantly held out, an endless throng of the latter, hundreds in number, went back by the returning ships; according to some accounts disappointed in their expectations, and disgusted with the discipline to which they were obliged to submit. Some hoped to find better luck in Piscataqua, and wended their way thither. But nearly all who gave up the undertaking in this way were of such a class that Vice-governor Dudley said, "We were glad to be rid of them;" and, "although our number is thereby made smaller, yet we do not consider ourselves weakened by their going away."

But, in the mean time, his own experience had taught him what it must teach every intelligent man, that it is still a sorry sort of matter to change one's father-land for a strange country; a civilized, orderly state of life for the horrors and privations of the wilderness; and the words which this noble man wrote to his titled patroness may in some measure apply (only that civil freedom has taken the place of religion) to those emigrants who, ignoring those advantages which civilization yields to the poorest, expect to find in the distant west the end of all their cares. "He who," he writes, "comes here for worldly objects, and can yet live well at home, commits a great error, of which he will soon repent; but he who comes for spiritual ends, whose removal is opposed by no especial hindrances, will here find what will suit him, that is, materials for building, wood for fuel, ground for planting, seas and rivers wherein to fish, a pure air to breathe, good water to drink till wine and beer can be made, which, together with the cows, swine, and

goats which have been brought over, may suffice for nourishment ; as for poultry and game, they are as great delicacies here as in England. In a word, we as yet enjoy very little worth enjoying, and have very much to endure from sickness and death among our people. I do the more willingly treat this subject simply and openly, that others who may come hither be not deceived in their expectations, as we were, to our great prejudice, by means of the letters which were sent from hence to us in England ; in which respectable people, in the wish to attract others over, wrote somewhat hyperbolically concerning many things, though otherwise godly people, such as are well stored with grace, and moreover with means to support them and theirs for some eighteen months here, whilst they plant, may, if disposed, come here to us in our Macedonia and help us, and not apply their fortunes to a less fruitful speculation. As to others, I do not think they are adapted to this undertaking."

Perhaps it was in consequence of this and similar letters, and of the appalling descriptions given by those who returned home, of whom so many seem to have carried back the seeds of death (for a number of them died on their passage, and still more shortly after their arrival), that in the course of the following year only ninety colonists came over ; a smaller number than had gone back in the preceding year. In 1632 also, only two hundred and fifty new settlers came, while the following year brought between six and seven hundred, and each of the seven years following some thousands. When we consider the then rude state of navigation, when a voyage averaged ten to twelve weeks, and one

of a month was considered "blessed and quick;" the inconvenience of the vessels, the common occurrence of scurvy, and, above all, the barbarous hardships men were exposed to at sea from roving pirates and war ships, which, according to the dishonourable policy of those times, treated as hostile the subjects of all states not in alliance with them, as savagely too as the corsairs themselves, we must regard even this small number as wonderful;—we comprehend the greatness of the motive which impelled such a number of peaceable burghers to expose themselves to dangers so great.

The cause of the numerous emigration of 1633 is principally to be traced to the increased oppression of the puritan clergy, whom their communities for the most part cheerfully followed into exile. Laud, Bishop of London, and, after 1633, Archbishop of Canterbury, to whom, as he was gifted with more phantasy than feeling, the purified divine service appeared cold and sober, showed himself inventive in additions to the ceremonies of the high church, and inexorably severe in demanding conformity. Among the expelled clergy were some men of distinguished gifts and extended fame. In the early part of 1631, there came to New England a young man of the name of Roger Williams, and in the harvest of the same year another of the name of John Elliot, who, both unknown in their old fatherland, were destined to exercise a most decided influence over the new; the one by eccentric, but free minded views, through which he became the first founder of a state based on a general freedom of conscience; the other as the great apostle of the Indians. With the wanderers of 1633, came Cotton and Hooker, theolo-

gists of great repute, and enthusiastically respected by their communities. Both had really *fled* from England, for the beadles were after them, and all the ports beset, so that they only escaped by a stratagem.

The harvest of 1631 brought also the governor's numerous family; among them his eldest son, called, like his father, John Winthrop, and, soon after, one of the leading men of the new colony of Connecticut. He inherited the sound sense of his father, united to a gentle heart and more enlightened mind. In England he had been the stay of his step-mother and family, who had remained behind. He came, accompanied by a young wife to his new country, which his clear judgment and decided good sense had selected, and of which he afterwards became one of the brightest pillars. A string of domestic letters has been luckily handed down to us, which yield a deep view into the interior household economy of the English puritanical, noble, family, and, to a certain extent, give us a highly interesting and salutary picture of the manners of those times. Salutary for the moral feeling of man, which, in the study of this period of English history, turns away with disgust from the filthy scenes of James's court, or shrinks back from the whirl of intrigue and the web of lies in the household of his unhappy son. In these invaluable family letters father and son appear throughout noble and amiable, and in so complete harmony with the public characters which history gives them, that we must consider the community fortunate, the direction of which was committed to such pure hands.

In making these remarks we have outrun time. We have previously seen that the *Lion* had been sent to

Ireland, in order as speedily as possible to bring provisions ; but such was the sailing of those days, and so dear and bad to get at was corn, that the ship sent off in August only came in February of next year. In the mean time the scarcity had reached its highest point—the governor had shared out the last cask of meal. Fish and mussels had for some time been their principal food, and a fast and penance day had been set apart for humbling themselves before the Lord ; when all at once, to their universal joy, the *Lion* appeared, after having encountered a stormy voyage, and the day of penance was converted into one of thanksgiving. The ship brought twenty new settlers, among them the above-mentioned Roger Williams and his wife. For a long time we find this doughty vessel (of which the captain, William Pierce, was a puritan, especially friendly to the men of Plymouth), almost like one of our packets, making sundry times every year the passage between Europe and America, and sometimes bringing, and sometimes carrying away again, the most notable settlers. At her return Preacher Wilson went back to England, in the view of bringing back his wife, who, however, could not be persuaded to emigrate till he had been to her a second time. Besides these distinguished men of the colony, Sir Richard Saltonstall went back with his daughters, but left behind in New England two of his sons, as a pledge of his return, which, however, never followed.

The government officers of the colony were in the mean time by no means wanting in activity in bringing it into order and regular working condition. Courts of assistants were regularly held, first in Charlestown, and

then in Boston, when in the late harvests the governors had removed their household thither. We may perhaps call it characteristic that the very first affair discussed was the maintenance of the two preachers, Wilson and Philipps; with the exception of the Dorchester and Salem settlers, who had to keep their own pastors, every place had to contribute to their support, and the building of their houses. A second care was to fix the pay of the workmen, as during the reigning sickness the few healthy ones gladly made the best use of the pressure of circumstances to increase their demands. A third resolution was directed against the miserable Morton, whom Allerton had most incomprehensibly again brought to New England as his secretary, and who, when his patron was obliged to dismiss him, at the urgent wish of the incensed governor, had betaken himself to his old seat, and had injured the neighbouring Indians, from whom complaints had been sent in against him. He was sent back a prisoner to New England in one of the returning ships; all he possessed was sold, and the cost of transport and indemnification of the deceived Indians defrayed out of the proceeds, and, for the satisfaction of the natives, his house was burnt down before their eyes.

Not less determinedly did they proceed against another secret enemy of the colony, an adventurer of the name of Gardiner, who had decorated himself with the order of Jerusalem, and had sneaked in among them under the name of Sir Christopher Gardiner, hypocritically begging for admission into one of their churches. The immoral connexions which he maintained awakened suspicion against him; and when he

should have defended himself against the charge of having left two wives behind him in England, who had both carried their complaints to Governor Winthrop, he fled to the Indians, by whom, however, he was taken prisoner and brought to Bradford, who again delivered him up to Winthrop. At Plymouth they found in his bed a note-book which he kept, and which disclosed the fact that he had become a Roman Catholic, and also the date of his conversion; and it is somewhat difficult to discover whether his contemptible hypocrisy, or the fact of his being a papist, most enraged the pious fathers of New England against him. One thing is certain, that up to that time nothing in the report of Sir Christopher's behaviour towards the community could justify legal proceedings against him, for his bigamy, if proved, belonged to another tribunal. But whilst he lay in prison, there came letters to him and Morton, which the governor held himself justified, under the present circumstances, in opening. From these it appeared that both were in the secret service of a powerful enemy of the colony, Sir Ferdinando Gorges, who appeared to be collecting evidence against it by means of these his informers. We shall see that at a later date Sir Christopher and Morton revenged themselves on the colony by bitter complaints before the council of New England, and the latter especially, by means of a malicious pasquinade, which ranged all the laughers on his side, and in which the noble men of the colony are caricatured *en masse*. To them joined him-

* This pasquinade, now very rare, entitled "The New Canaan," printed in Antwerp, 1637, was unexpectedly found in an old book-stall in Berlin, by John Quincy Adams, when ambassador at the court of Prussia.

self a third enemy, one Ratcliff, in the service of Matthias Cradock, who, according to the barbarous criminal proceedings of that time, had been compelled by the court of Massachusetts to pay a fine of £40 and to lose both ears. The punishment, inhuman in itself, becomes, however, horrible, and unfortunately a fearful herald of the hierarchic spirit destined so soon after in Massachusetts to stifle the up-springing freedom, when we learn that it was inflicted for the crime of having held wicked and scandalous discourses against the government and *the church of Salem*.^{*} In England the news of such proceedings made, even among the friends of the colony, a highly unfavourable impression, and the defence of it against their antagonists, ever on the increase, was thereby rendered more difficult.

Another object of discussion at the sittings was the building of a fortified town, to serve as the seat of government; for, after exact examination, none of the existing settlements were found adapted to this purpose. A committee was deputed to find out a suitable place; and, after manifold deliberations, they decided for a spot on the west shore of the Charles river, directly opposite to Boston, the site whereon Cambridge now stands. Each of the assistants remaining in the country, except Endecott, now resident in Salem, was deputed to build a house there for himself as a beginning. Both governors forthwith set about building, and Dudley's was soon finished; while Winthrop at the same time built himself a stone house on the Mistik, and there laid out for himself an estate. To this end the government

^{*} Ratcliff is described by Morton as being quite innocent, and called Mr. Innocence Faircloth.

gave him six hundred acres of land, which he called the Ten Hills.

In the course of time he changed his mind. Boston alone, which had the appearance of becoming the head seat of commerce, could be a suitable centre. The most of the families had passed over from Charlestown, so that it was considered expedient to found a church there, and the building of a house of God was accordingly begun. But the inhabitants of Charles-

1631 town called thither as preacher one of the clergymen who had in the mean time come over from England, and so founded the fifth congregational church in Massachusetts. At last Winthrop, without even communicating his intentions to Dudley, trans-

1632 ported to Boston the scaffolding of his house in Newtown, for so the fortress in building had been called. Justly incensed at this, the latter appeared as complainant against him, urging not merely this point, but also many others; charging him with having acted without the advice of the assistants, and having assumed rights which did not belong to him. Dudley was a man of sour, moody, and mistrustful mind; exceedingly choleric, puranitically strict in his religious opinions, and though of all probity, yet not free from suspicion of petty selfishness, which even showed itself in a kind of unworthy usury towards those in distress. Whilst Winthrop in the hour of affliction shared his last morsel with the starving, conducted his arduous official duties with the most perfect unselfishness, and even willingly lent to the community from his private fortune, Dudley kept his purse close, and never contributed a coin to public matters. At an earlier period dissension had

arisen between them, when Dudley had his house at Newtown built and furnished with a degree of elegance and comfort, which did not appear to Winthrop in any way suitable to a struggling colony, and the sunken condition of the public purse. But now the discord broke out in the open sitting. Dudley avowed his wish to abdicate and go back to England, but leave of departure was denied him by the assembly; and after Winthrop had defended himself against Dudley's accusations with mildness and decision, both were at last reconciled by means of the clergymen. Dudley evinced a great jealousy of the higher respect and popularity which Winthrop enjoyed, a younger man by ten years, and which he had won by his unselfishness and moderation; though, in regard to his change of abode, right was on Dudley's side, as the other acknowledged and offered to atone for by money, which, however, was refused.

A longer stay would have convinced Winthrop of the uselessness of erecting a fortress against the attacks of the Indians; for all the neighbouring natives had met them not only with friendship, but even with submission; the more their own strength waxed apace, the less had they to fear from the others. Mention has already been made of the sagamore John, in their immediate vicinity. He and his brother James, who lived in Sawgus, remained till death devoted to the English. Chickatabot, Sachem of Neponset,* one of the neigh-

* Sachem and Sagamore (chief and prince) seem to have had the same meaning among the Indians of New England, and are used interchangeably by the earlier English authors. They were probably, originally the same word.

bouring chiefs of Massachusetts, came often on a visit to Boston, and once he appeared at the governor's with the request to be allowed to buy a coat of him; the governor, however, told him that the English sagamores were not traders; but he sent to his tailor to take measure of the Indian for a suit of clothes, which the highly-delighted chief was allowed three days after to take away with him. The chief also of the much-dreaded

1631 Narragansetts, Cundincus, sent his son to greet the strangers, and in the following year, Miantonomo, the co-ruler of the same tribe, came on a visit to Boston, and with marvellous patience listened to a sermon an hour long; he was a guest of the governor's, and conducted himself with the most laudable decorum. We shall repeatedly meet again, in the history of New England, with both these Narragansett chiefs.

Winthrop always maintained their rights with the greatest conscientiousness. If an Englishman injured any thing belonging to an Indian, he had to replace it; nay, a man of the higher class, of the name of Josia, who had taken four baskets of corn from the Indians, was obliged to make them good again with eight; besides which, a penalty of £5 was imposed on him, and he was deprived of the title of "Master," which he had hitherto borne; and his servants who had assisted him were corporally punished. A young man, who had made dishonourable proposals to an Indian female, was flogged in the presence of her husband and self, to the great satisfaction of both. But he also insisted as severely on the punishment of the Indians when they had done any thing against the English, and wisely allowed the execution of it to be put in force by their own chief-

tains. Thus, for instance, he compelled Miantonomo to have some of his people, who had broken into a house during divine service, punished by his own followers. In this way he procured for himself the respect, nay, the confidence, of the natives, who, in their feuds with one another, often sought and found protection among the powerful whites. All measures of protection were taken against probable outbreaks of concealed hostility towards themselves, especially those which threatened them from the warlike races of the Mohawks. Watches were set, and all sale of powder and weapons to the Indians strictly forbidden and severely punished.

In 1633 the small-pox broke out among the Indians of Massachusetts, and, like a pestilence, carried off the greater part of them, almost unpeopling the districts about Piscataqua. Seven hundred Narragansetts also died, according to their account. The three chiefs of Massachusetts known to us, Chickatabot, James, and John, were victims to this pest. The two latter had not received their names in baptism; they seem to have been given them by the English for convenience, and much to their own satisfaction. Nevertheless both of them, and especially John, who is famed as having been very kindly disposed, appear not to have been averse to Christianity; and it is said that he left his son in ^{ward} to the preacher, Wilson, loudly praised the God of the English, and wished to die among them. A great number of Indian orphans were received into the families of the settlers; but they seem to have borne within them the germs of death, for within a short time nearly all of them died. But the English thought they

clearly saw God's dispensation in these events; and if they had had any suspicions that their king's presents gave them no just title to this country, they now no longer doubted that they had inherited it by God's will from the dying natives.

The new settlers had always been on a very good footing with the elder sister colony of Plymouth. Visits were exchanged, full of difficulties and hardships, but thus yielding twofold enjoyment. It was seldom in this clime that a few light clouds were seen. If the Plymouthers watched with some anxiety the growing greatness of their rival, and strove with suspicious sensitiveness to maintain against her their dear-bought rights, who can blame them for it? Soon after their arrival, the colonists of Massachusetts had sent a bark to purchase corn at Cape Cod, a district which they of Plymouth regarded as their exclusive trading-place; when next year this was about to be repeated, and the vessel was compelled by contrary winds to run into the harbour of Plymouth, those on board of her were very ungraciously received, and set at liberty with the stern intimation not to trade there. An arrangement by means of letters seems, however, to have speedily smoothed over this matter, for soon after we find Bradford a guest in Boston, and, somewhat later, Winthrop in Plymouth, until in course of time, on the occasion of the settlement of Connecticut, the rivalry of ^{the} two colonies again cast some slight shadow on ^{their} intercourse.

A certain degree of relationship was also set on foot with the settlers of Piscataqua, although the chief undertaker there, Sir Ferdinando Gorges, remained hostile

to the colony of Massachusetts, whose activity had marred his own plans. The governor established there by him, Captain Neal, sent to the governor of Massachusetts, to beg for assistance against the pirates who had fixed themselves on a neighbouring island. Winthrop, however, only entered cautiously into this, but they sent off to their assistance a pinnace with twenty men, who, hindered by storms, could do little.

There seemed to be more to fear from the 1632
French, who had again taken possession of Acadia, had bought from the Scots their plantation at Cape Table, and threatened to extend further. A house of trade, held by the Plymouthers at Penobscott, was attacked and plundered by them. The French, being papists, were regarded by the colonists as their natural enemies. It was therefore resolved to complete a citadel they had began in Boston; to erect another in Nantasket, and to plant a settlement in Agawam, on the sea coast north of Salem; the latter, in the strange design of preventing an enemy from taking possession of this part of the country, whilst a thousand other equally desirable points were left open. The younger John Winthrop was sent off with twelve men to begin this settlement; such was the foundation of Ipswich.

At an earlier date, a kind of commercial intercourse was begun with the Dutch, who, in 1623, erected the castles Amsterdam and Aurania,* on the Hudson, but who seem to have only planted a permanent colony there in 1629. On the other hand, there seems to be no evidence of any such intercourse with their country-

* Also called Fort Orange, from which Albany arose, as New York did from Fort Amsterdam.

men in Virginia, except a solitary importation of corn from that fruitful country. However, ships went constantly to and fro between both colonies ; for the vessels coming from England were frequently destined for all the havens of the American coasts, and thus maintained a kind of connexion.

CHAPTER XI.

CH AFFAIRS.—DEVELOPMENT OF THE CONSTITUTION.—ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE. FROM 1630 TO 1635.

THE charter of the Massachusetts society, that is, the original document signed by the king, which assured to them the possession of a certain tract of land, together with the right of managing it (under certain conditions) according to their own pleasure, contains not a word as to the state of church affairs to be introduced. Whilst the supporting in all its integrity of the high church was made incumbent on the colony of Virginia, the point of religion was here left quite untouched. It is true that, on one hand, the empowering of the governor to enact the oath of supremacy, as well as the stipulation that none of their laws should be in opposition to those of England, seemed to pre-suppose the introduction of the high church; but, on the other hand, the emigrants made no secret of their opinions, and the motives of the emigration were too apparent to allow the court of bishops even to cherish the belief that the emigrants contemplated transplanted to New England the English church, in all her despotic exclusiveness, to say nothing of the principle of uniformity. The introduction of the church of England then, with the changes in her ritual, which best pleased them, seems to have been silently taken for granted; nay, some thirty years after, on his restoration to the

throne, King Charles the Second declared that freedom of conscience was the leading principle in the charter of constitution for Massachusetts.

The greater number of the settlers, from 1630 to 1634 had, in England, belonged to that class of puritans who had, in respect to the divine service, submitted to the regulations of the government, although against their own intimate convictions. Their preachers were clergymen consecrated by the bishops, and conformist to a certain degree, partly still in office, and partly consisting of those who had fallen off from the church of England, and had therefore been removed at the time when Archbishop Laud threatened more and more to lead them back to the detested usages of Rome. It is certain, however, that very few of the emigrants aimed at a real separation from the church. In a farewell letter to their brethren of the church of England, in which they beg for their love and prayers, the heads of the party express the most respectful attachment to the church of England. "We beg you," it says, "by the grace of the Lord Jesus, to regard us as your brothers, who anxiously want, and pressingly crave, for your help; and if your love has been troubled by a cause for sadness, partly through a false report of our views, and partly by the want of amicable feeling, or the carelessness of some of, or rather amongst us, for we do not belong to those who dream of perfection in this world, nevertheless we wish that ye may esteem the chief persons and the bulk of our society, they being such as make it an honour to themselves to call the church of England, from which they have gone forth, their dear mother, and who cannot part from the land of their birth, where she

has her chief seat, without great sorrowfulness and tears in their eyes, and ever acknowledging what hope and sympathy they have received, how they have been taken into her lap and suckled at her breasts. We do not leave it, therefore, because the milk with which she has nourished us is offensive to us, but rather thanking God for the mother, and the bringing up as members of the same body. We will ever rejoice at her welfare, and unfeignedly sorrow should any evil befall her, and so long as we have breath will pray for the enduring and fulness of her welfare, and the extension of her dominion in the kingdom of the Lord Jesus Christ."

This letter, supposed to have been composed by the clergyman, White, of Dorchester, the real founder of the Society of Massachusetts, was dated from on board the *Arabella*, and signed by the spokesmen of the emigrants, Winthrop, Johnson, and Dudley, &c., and, among the clergymen, by John Philipps, and we can scarcely doubt that it contained their real views. Even when we see them nevertheless building up a church constitution from first to last in no way in unison with the episcopal, still this must not make us err as regards their veracity, for their letter expresses only their attachment to the English church, which they held, in its essence, to be identical with their own; not to her discipline and outward constitution, which they regarded as faulty and corrupt, and still less to her usages, which they considered to be sinful. In fact, in the commencement, every thing was avoided that had the appearance of a complete separation from the English church. On the initiation of Wilson and Philipps, by the laying on of hands by the elders, and other members of the church, it was espe-

cially declared, that this was only a sign of their choice and confirmation, and was not intended in any way to indicate that they did not recognize their previous consecration ; and Roger Williams's fanatic demand, the year after, that they should openly express their repentance for ever having had intercourse with this corrupt church, created general ill will ; but still a hostile feeling to the episcopal constitution was so distinctly manifested by some men of influence, that the appearance of the signature in that farewell letter is, speaking in mild terms, a very great inconsistency. Thus, for instance, Dudley refused to sign a writing, in which the king was named, according to custom, " Sacred Majesty," and the bishops " Reverend Bishops." And Philipps declared, immediately after his arrival, to a friend, that if the emigrants would be content with the consecration which he had received from the prelates, he was disposed to leave them. The brethren of the Salem community showed themselves still more narrow-hearted, when they refused communion to the pious men of Massachusetts, such as Winthrop, Dudley, Johnson, &c., because they were members of the episcopal church, as well as to the son of another esteemed puritan of the name of Codrington, because his father had been baptized in a catholic church. But their influence, and that of Philipps, was counteracted by others, and especially at the commencement by Winthrop, who was extremely anxious not to awaken the suspicions of the mother country against the colony. At first all was carefully shunned that looked like a decided separation. Indeed, as we have seen, their church had been founded at its commence-

ment by a special covenant, which excluded all of different views. But it was the influence of Cotton and Hooker, and the uncommon power which, as attractive preachers, they exercised over their community, that gained for Massachusetts its strong exclusive constitution; a constitution which diligently nourishes priestly haughtiness in the members of it, and stands in strong contrast to the all-embracing spirit of love of the "World-saver."

But though the churches of Massachusetts rejected the episcopal as well as the presbyterian constitution, and accepted in all essential parts the principles of the separatists, they still, at the beginning, decisively rejected the name of independents, and in fact their constitution was somewhat less democratic. For whilst the presbyterian constitution gives all the power into the hands of the presbytery, and the interests of the individual communities are merged into those of the so-called classes, the independent communities, on the contrary, are governed by the mass of the brethren alone, and the pastor and elder are at most leaders and counsellors, but not rulers. Thus the churches of Massachusetts sought to strike into a middle road, and so divide the power more between the community and the church officials. Among them preaching and teaching were left to the clergy, and no arbitrary using of gifts was allowed. Prophecy was only exercised in the absence of the clergyman by very holy laicks, which gave to the former class a greater standing. Their chief strength lay in that which had given them the name of "congregational churches," that is in the voluntary union of the collective congregations or communities. Their relation one

with another may be compared to the great town leagues, in which none is either first or last; of which each is self-existent and independent, and only moved toward the exterior by a common motive power;—with the mutual duty of giving one another help and comfort, and standing by one another with act and word. Nay, so bound was a church not to act without the consent of another, that the authorities felt themselves justified in deposing a clergyman, who, in a certain case, had been elected without the consent and deliberation of a sister church.

New growing congregations were received with solemnity into the church community. Was a church to be founded in any place, or, to use the phrase then in vogue, “gather itself together,” the first thing it stood in need of was the permission of the government; this was forthwith made known to the neighbouring churches, who thereupon sent messengers, clergymen, elders, and other highly esteemed persons as being pious, acknowledged brethren, in whose presence their covenant, signed by all, was read. The belief and the confession of sin were proved by one of the messengers, and both were found correct. The right hand of fellowship was stretched to them, in the name of the Saviour, as to a true church of Christ. The new church had for the most part chosen her officers, who were then consecrated by laying on of hands, or rather introduced to their calling by the clergyman, if any were present; if not by elders or other brethren. For this cannot be regarded as real consecration, which no mortal man can give. A clergyman dismissed by his community was no longer a clergyman, that is, he could no longer per-

form clerical duties. What held good in one of these churches held good in all, and his unanimity made ex-communication in New England, in the seventeenth century, scarcely less terrible than the popish, in the dark times of the middle ages, had been in the other Christian hemisphere. This did not in any degree prevent differences from springing up in some of the churches. At first alterations were frequently made, till, in 1648, the "Platform of Cambridge" brought the whole into one complete and exclusive system.

As among the independents, it was here at the very beginning decided, that not all the baptized Christians, or all regular church-goers, but only those believers should constitute the church, who united themselves into an especial covenant, and had sworn to join in common with the brethren and sisters, according to the precepts of the gospel. In order to be received into this covenant, a more exact proof was required of the practical knowledge of the soul, and its temptations and battles, but especially of the working and bursting forth of "grace," which last-named act of faith was wont to be announced to the hour and minute.

This analysis of the throes of a spiritual second-birth had first to be laid before the proving elders, and then before the whole community. This last had to decide whether the candidates should be accepted, and every brother and every sister could give a voice. This acceptance into the fellowship of the holy first made any one capable of receiving the communion, and entitled his children to baptism. So early as ten years after the founding of their church, the number of those who had

no part in it was much greater than that of the actual members, and among these may have been not only many upright persons, but also many pious, Christian, and believing minds. For can it excite wonder that many longing hearts, especially women and girls, were repugnant to submitting openly to this moral vivisection? That they rather yearned in vain all their lives after those Christian deeds of benevolence, than shamelessly expose their moral being before a congregated assembly. This impropriety was strongly felt by men of standing. Cotton, when he first came to Boston, and had himself accepted, with a deposition of his confession of faith, in the community, attempted to spare his wife this publicity, and to have his testimony accepted for her, on the score that it was contrary to the precept of the apostle, and not fitted to the modesty of a woman, on which account he wished the elders privately to prove her among themselves. It appears, that from this time forth the open proving of women ceased in Boston, and their reports and confessions of faith were publicly read instead, by the pastors; but in other communities, as in Salem for instance, women were obliged, as formerly, to lay bare their inmost souls before the community, only that they generally chose for this purpose the week days instead of the Sundays.

The fundamental principle of the independents, completely to separate church and state, was also adopted by the congregationalists at the beginning, but not carried through with the same persistence by the others, nay, it was soon abandoned in all essential points. At the first formation of their churches they had taken a pattern by the Salemers, who had again taken the Ply-

mouthers as their model. When Increase Nowel, the church elder of Boston, and one of the patent holders, was in 1632 again elected assistant, the opinion of Bradford decided that a state office and a church office could not be held by the same individual, and Nowel gave up his church office. But Cotton was of a different opinion, and it was in part his strong influence which bound so firmly together church and state, that, after the lapse of nearly two hundred years, it is difficult to say where the one begins and the other ends. The clergy, as such, had no political power whatever. Their influence was purely personal, but in some cases so enormous, that, as an instance, Cotton only required, in a sermon, to bring a certain view to bear upon a civic matter, and the question was at once brought before the next sitting of the government. The governing powers were collectively members of the church, and were bound by law and conscience to undertake nothing without the consent of their preachers and churches, so that the individual communities stood under the close supervision of the civic authorities. None could be formed, or could elect preachers, without their permission and assistance. In 1652 a clergyman, of the name of Matthews, was fined £10 for having preached to a community who had allowed themselves this liberty: church differences were decided at the sittings of the magistrates. But yet the church was alone ruler; the leaders of the people, her true sons; and her voice alone the outspoken oracle of the divine will.

It was nevertheless a theocracy that was aimed at, and even set in motion, though not without the intermixture of some opposing elements. The settlers

brought with them some dim idea of it. But Cotton, a man of wavering character, yet sharp understanding, well versed in all the subtleties of the theological and scholastic learning of his day; of unbounded ambition, pliable manners, and captivating eloquence, laid the corner-stone of that building, which, protected by the spirit of the time, and unhappily cemented in some of its parts by blood, stood unscathed through the first quarter of the following century, firmly resisting all attacks from inward or outward foes. Cotton's influence over his community, at a time when every preacher exercised more or less influence over men's minds, was even then unequalled. Even in England he had enjoyed uncommon veneration, and an extended fame. Even among those most opposed to him he had admirers and protectors. Among the prelates, the Bishop of Lincoln, in whose diocese he preached, interceded personally with King James to allow him to preach. The colonists long yearned for him, and two years after his arrival Shawmut was named Boston, in honour of him. For in England Boston had been his residence, and the principal sphere of his operations, and a great part of his community emigrated with him. Wilson, the honoured pastor of the Boston community, fell after his arrival into the background, and Cotton became teacher of the community. The pastor had to preach on the Sunday mornings, and the teachers in the afternoons. There was no political fact which he did not bring under consideration here, or still more frequently in one of his week-day lectures. He was averse to democracy, "I do not see," he writes, to Lord Say, "that God has ever ordained democracy as

a fitting form of government, either for church or common weal; if the people shall rule, who shall be governed? Monarchy and aristocracy are, on the contrary, approved of in the holy writings, but so that the sovereignty falls to him (God), and that he places theocracies in both as the best form of government, as well in the community as in the church.

He felt himself perfectly adapted to be the high-priest of this theocracy, the living voice of God; and the opposition which he encountered on this subject from some of the people, and from time to time from the magistrates themselves, often violently exasperated him, and once so irritated him that he threatened to leave the colony.

But the real might of the church consisted in her union with the state, and the unconditional devotion of the leaders of the state to her. In other respects, the church ban was the only weapon with which she could directly attack. It was imposed by the whole community, but was pronounced only by the clergy, although in their absence it might also be done by the elders. The excommunicated was regarded as a heathen and a publican. In Newhaven, under the guidance of the hierarch Davenport, he was obliged, if he wished again to become partaker of the divine work, to stand in snow and rain before the church door. The Bostoners granted him a quiet place in the church; all communication between him and "the holy" was cut off; no one ate and drank with him, only children being allowed this kind of intercourse with their excommunicated parents. Nevertheless, and the fact is on record, according to their theory, a superior official could exercise

his office while under excommunication, and obedience must be yielded him in civic matters.

At the commencement, they made use of this sword of justice with some moderation; heretical opinions, and refusal to recant when summoned before the church, were sure to call down the ban, but in moral points it was restricted to gross vices, and amongst these was overstepping their covenant laws; thus, for instance, a woman of station was put under the ban because she had said some imprudent and bitter words about a brother:—"that he had, she feared, conspired with others, and that he over-priced some joiners' work ordered by her; and instead of having, as was his duty as a member of the church, amicably decided the matter by the voice of some other members of the church, he strove to bring it before a court, and all this without the consent of her spouse." It was here especially dwelt upon, that differences between church members should first of all come before the church, before being brought into court; nay, every independent action effected without calling in the counsel of the brethren was considered wrong.

The efforts of the clergy to give political weight to the church ban were only successful for a short time. In 1638 the order of the government declared that any one who should be excommunicated six months without reconciling himself with the church should be fined, imprisoned, or banished, according to the good pleasure of the assembly. But this smacked too strongly of the hierarchy of the mother country not to excite general murmuring, and in the following year they were obliged to abolish the law. The ambitious striving of Cotton

and a part of the clergy was, however, in no way united to a desire for outward honours or distinctions. In especial, the maxim of allowing the church to maintain her holy dignity without any addition of worldly grandeur was carried out with the greatest consistency. The salaries of the preachers were small. When the clergymen first came over, it was resolved that one half of their salary should be paid out of the common purse, and one half by the planters; afterwards the whole fell upon the community. Philipps received £30 out of the common purse; Wilson, as his wife did not accompany him, only £20.* When the clergymen went from Salem to New England, Higginson was, in consideration of his having eight children, allowed £10 more than Skelton. During the whole period of the hierarchy no preacher's salary rose above £100, a sum which only very few communities could afford to pay. These yearly moneys were contributed by all the inhabitants, and this seems to have been the only point where no other distinction was made between members and non-members of the church, than that the former contributed voluntarily, the latter in fixed taxes; though they could not enjoy the benefits of the church, they had yet to bear her burthens.

The divine service was performed with the greatest simplicity, in large respectable buildings, in the style of

* That even in those frugal times one could only live very poorly on £40 or £60 a-year (supposing the other half to be added by the planters), is evident from a remark of Winslow's—that if he had not been governor he could have lived as a private person, and his family would not have expended more than £200 a-year, whilst as governor he had spent £300. However, a house was also built at the common expense for the preachers, and very probably a good deal was received in the shape of presents.

dwelling-houses, when such were to be had ; and when not, as in their first struggles, under the shadow of a venerable tree. At nine o'clock a bell called to divine service ; and where no house was as yet erected, or where the settlers lived too scattered to hear a bell, the drum was used. Sermon, exposition of the Scriptures, praying, and psalm-singing, were judiciously interchanged. The sermons were redolent of Bible learning and dogmatics, but in the highest degree straightforward, zealous, and full of application to the events of the day, never failing in their aim ; the prayers, though composed on the spur of the moment, and disdaining the simple forms of the Common Prayer-book of the Church of England, had yet run into certain forms borrowed from written language, only that every one added and subtracted as he liked best. Urgent, tedious, long to exhaustion,* and entering into all particulars of what was worth wishing and praying for, they had less, perhaps, than they ought of complete devotion to the will of God, which they made one of the first duties of a Christian. Delivered in a peculiar drawling tone and with shut eyes, the prayers of the puritans had long been the sport of the worldlings in England. Baptism was performed before the assembled community, by sprinkling or washing, without particular signs of baptism. Father or mother, of whom one must belong to the church in order to be able to demand the baptism of the child, brought it thither, and the whole community was witness. The communion was received once

* Of threefold length on days of fasting and humiliation. At the time of dearth and impending famine the Plymouthers prayed eight or nine hours without once leaving off!

a month, in Calvin's manner. As among the separatists, all remained sitting, and bread and cup were handed round by the deacons, or from one to another. The service was concluded by the collection, out of the proceeds of which the preacher was in part paid; the rest being devoted to the service of the poor. The manner of doing this they had borrowed from the Plymouthers, who had chosen it at Leyden, under Robinson's guidance, in imitation of the church at Corinth, where the apostle Paul himself introduced it. One after another, all those of standing and in authority stood up, and each laid in a box placed before the deacons his mite, consisting of money, promissory notes, and even valuables, as books, &c.; after which they returned to their seats. But only church members gave in their contributions in this manner; from the others it was collected, as has been stated, in direct taxes. The deacons were not required to give any account of the sums thus collected every sabbath.

The civic constitution of Massachusetts is more difficult to portray than the church, as it was only gradually formed, and would have had but a weak basis in the charter, if this had not been materially strengthened by the spirit which animated the head members. Unlimited possession was assured them of a tract of land which extended from ocean to ocean, and from three miles north of the Merrimack in its most northerly direction, to three miles south of Charles River in its most southerly. Freedom to make laws for themselves, in so far as they were not in contradiction to those of England. For seven years complete immunity from taxes and levies, and a great alleviation of these for

twenty-one more. Only a fifth of the precious metals fell to the king. They were to remain English, but to refuse no Englishman the right of commerce and fishing. Their affairs were to be conducted by a governor and vice-governor, with eighteen assistants or counselors, both the first being chosen every year from the latter, chosen by themselves. These were to meet every month, and seven of them, with one of the governors, were to form a committee. Four times a year a general sitting was to take place, to which were invited, besides the governors and assistants, all free men, that is, all partakers of the patent and members of the society; and laws could only be enacted by them. These were the actual features of the patent; the extent of the power of the governor, as of the assistants, remained undefined. Shortly after the crown had made South Virginia totally independent of it, it unconcernedly granted also to the settlers of North Virginia the most unbounded freedom to form their own plan of government. It was quite in the puritanical spirit that it became republican in their hands.

From the very beginning there was evident in the mass of the colonists a jealous watching of their rights; only that they, unused as they were, did not know the best way of going to work, and hence, from unskillfulness, often let slip what might have secured these rights. The first courts of assistants, held in the course of the summer, occupied themselves, after fixing the salaries of the preachers, exclusively with police regulations, and a certain amount of order was so much easier to maintain among the colonists, as Winthrop and Dudley, and in fact all the assistants, were highly esteemed.

The confidence in Winthrop's fatherly care was unbounded; and while want, sickness, and helplessness lamed the powers necessary for acting and procuring, every one could feel that the patriarchal state was best suited to them. Winthrop lived, in fact, only for the weal of those confided to his care. He went so far in his charity that, whenever he suspected a family to be in need, he was wont to send one of his servants with a message, in order in this way to see if they were provided with the necessaries of life, and in case they were not, he at once let them have food from his own kitchen. Thus he was loved and honoured like a father; and this feeling towards him only changed when the increasing well-being, and a beginning of "home feeling," had awakened anew the inborn selfishness of the people; and something of that spirit had begun to stir, which moved the Athenian burgher to propose the ostracism of Aristides, merely because he was called the just.

Certain difficulties had sprung up from transplanting the society into a wilderness. Withdrawn from the jurisdiction of England, the government could not delay forming a new court. It was accordingly settled that the present governors, vice-governors, justices of the peace, and four of the assistant justices, should be furnished with all the power of similar bodies in England—at least in all political matters. In criminal, as in civil cases, the governor should, with the assistants—that is, all the government officials—form a court. Thus the legislative, executive, and judicial powers were united in one and the same body.

In the middle of October, the first general 1630

court was held at Boston, in which, besides the governor, vice-governor, and six assistants, all the freemen of the colony participated; and of which the object was to build up their form of government according to circumstances. For their charter stated that laws should only be framed when the freemen or burghers were present. But the meaning of the charter, destined for a corporation going forth from England to rule over a distant colony, was that all freemen should be partakers of the patent, together with their heirs, representatives, and companions. Therefore every one who by rank, property, or other "merit," could lay claim to such a distinction, was joined to them; as, for instance, all the clergymen and the elder planters in Massachusetts, all men of some consideration and so on, forming in all a hundred and nine. It was resolved that the freemen should choose the assistants—that is, that they should fill up any vacancies; for, according to the charter, the governors, but not the assistants, were elected anew every year; but the latter were to choose the governors and vice-governors out of their number. In spite of the definition of the charter, it was reserved to these officials to make laws and nominate the executive. So modest were the claims of these freemen at the first sitting: the care of their own families, building houses and tilling fields, was too urgent for the commonwealth to obtain its full share of interest.

1631 It was not till the May of the following year that a general court was again held, and this took place for the choice of the governor and other officials. All the government officials were elected anew, but the burghers obtained the right, in case of

well-founded discontent, of deposing one or more assistants. A new and important condition was added to those for citizenship, which soon began to have very serious results for the common weal. It was resolved that this should remain in the hands only of good and upright men, and that henceforth no one should be admitted to the corporation who was not member of a church of the colony of Massachusetts.

Thus theocracy was introduced. God himself was to rule by his elect; they alone were to be the organs of a wisdom which should base itself on the old and new covenant, and not on human strength. A religious aristocracy was formed, which invested the blessed of God with its heraldic honours, which it refused to the carnal-minded. We do not find that in the beginning these resolutions created any opposition, although among the elder planters many who were not puritans had in the very first sitting obtained civic rights. But, without doubt, they had at that time no foreboding that the established church would be excluded from the colony, and dreamed that the rule was only aimed at papists and freethinkers.

Before the third general sitting (the year 1632 after this), the freemen had had time to think about what they could demand and obtain. It does not, however, appear that the assistants had by any misuse of their undoubtedly great power made any restriction of it necessary. On the contrary, except one violent man of the name of Ludlow, the son-in-law of Dudley, who declared that he would rather go back to England than remain here under such circumstances, they were all perfectly willing to give up their privileges; and it

was resolved, on a motion from the commons, that, in future, assistants and governors should be yearly chosen by the freemen; the former, as previously, out of the latter. The government had, at any rate, every reason to be well pleased with this limitation, for the method of choosing the governor still left his election in some measure in their hands. For whilst the governor was chosen by means of names written on bills, the assistants were proposed by the governor, after the general assembly had agreed upon a certain number of names, and the freemen had only the right to accept or reject. The germ of a representative constitution, in possession of which the Virginians had been for thirteen years, was also laid in this assembly, every place being ordered to send two men to the next court of assistants, to debate upon the establishment of a general treasury.

1634 In the general court, held two years after, the finishing stone to the constitution of Massachusetts was laid, and so the building remained without any important alterations until the loss of the first charter. The settlements had now extended to thirty miles from the head town, and the number of burghers amounted to 380. A general meeting for the behoof of the legislature seemed accordingly inconvenient in every respect. A committee of twenty-four of their best men—and this shows plainly how in the course of time they had learned to think about their state affairs—met together some days before the general sitting, to consult with Winthrop, by whose advice deputies were in future to be sent. It was accordingly moved and resolved, that from henceforth three men selected by each district should represent it, and this with all the power of the

whole assembled body. This had not entered into Winthrop's plans, for on this occasion he would gladly have placed the power in the hands of the assistants, and only have left the deputies the right of revision. For Winthrop was an aristocrat, although moderate, and full of respect for the rights of the people. It was his opinion, that the minority must rule, because the wisest and best were only few in number. With the democratic tendencies constantly gaining ground, this opinion began to awaken suspicion, and, in order to use their right of election, they chose John Dudley (a much less popular man) governor instead of Winthrop, and his son-in-law, Ludlow, who stood much lower in the estimation of the people, as vice-governor. Nay, the spirit of the people began to awake with such violence that a sort of account of his payments was demanded from this honoured man at his dismissal, which appears from his answer to have deeply injured him. From his accounts it clearly appears that he had, out of love to the common weal, made the greatest personal sacrifices for it, and that he bequeathed it to his successor much in his debt. But it was not merely the manner, the very calling to account seems to have injured him; for he begged the assembly, when they entered in their minutes that they had called him to account, to enter his answer also. This change in the election can only be attributed to a passing humour in the people, for, in the following year, Ludlow and Endecott were left out at the election of assistants, and for two years after, the election of the governor fell on two other men, only to return to Winthrop and to remain by him till his death in 1649, in spite of much undermining; so that of the nineteen years he passed

in the colony, he, during eleven, filled the highest station in it, and during the other eight, almost without exception, the post of vice-governor.

1634 The decisions in the general sitting of March were manifold and important. Four general courts were to be held yearly; but the freemen were to be assembled in a body only at the court of election, held the last Wednesday before Easter, although even then the distant townships were allowed to send in their voices by proxy. The three other courts were adequately represented by three deputies, and thus a regular legislature was founded. Moreover, trials by jury were formally introduced through this assembly; for the people had long viewed with dissatisfaction the arbitrary decisions of the assistants, although these were generally milder and more reasonable than the laws of England, or than their own were at a later date. Grand and petty juries were accordingly introduced, intrinsically the same as those in England, only that, in accordance with circumstances, especial care was taken to avoid prolixity, and spare expense. Under the presidency of an assistant, a court was held at regular terms in the different towns, before which all regular cases of civil law were brought, and, of criminal cases, those of which the decision did not affect life and death. The latter were decided by the upper court, which, consisting of the governor and assistants, sat twice a year in Boston, and at the same time served as a court of appeal against the decisions of the inferior court. For extraordinary cases the general assembly stood above these again.*

* Until a regular book of laws was introduced, the judge delivered his charge to the jury, after hearing the examination, under the rubric of one of the ten commandments, according to which all crimes were classified. See *Lecheford's Plaine Dealings, &c.*

All these regulations, which only assumed a regular form between 1634 and 1644, had raised many questions as to the rights and freedom of the people. Till now only such laws had been added by the colonial government to the generally acknowledged laws of England, as seemed necessary for the security of the common weal and the maintenance of morality, under which last head we shall afterwards revert to some sumptuary laws. In the following year the free men, after manifold jarrings between them and the assistants had been allayed, demanded the composition of a book of laws, as a sort of Magna Charta for protection against the arbitrary power of the judges. This demand met with no opposition, and it was resolved that sundry worthy men, chiefly clergymen, should be commissioned to draw up a plan for it. The fundamental code which resulted from this was introduced in 1641.

With all this sense of their rights and privileges, the colonists still freely admitted one kind of political restriction, which stands in strong contrast to the national freedom of the wilderness, and the largeness of the space in which it had room to play. It is to be presumed that one reason for drawing the reins so tight was that so great a liberty might easily be misused. From the very beginning it was resolved that no individual should settle in any part of Massachusetts Bay without express permission; nay, a settlement begun in Agawam (Ipswich) had to be given up, because the permission of the magistrate had not been obtained; although, the year after, young Winthrop was sent thither with twelve men, because the place was considered unusually favourable for a settlement. It was

probably for the same reason that colonists from Braintree, in England, who had begun in 1632 to settle to the west of Mount Wallaston, were ordered by the government to settle in Newtown, and thus to begin anew the toilsome task of "founding." This settlement, Hooker's former community, bequeathed the name Braintree to their first resting-place, and at a later division of the parish, the half island on which Mount Wallaston stands was called Quincey.

As regards the further reception of strangers, the police of newer civilized states might have learned something from these beginners, for it was forbidden, under a very heavy penalty, to keep a guest longer than three weeks, or to sell him land without the consent of the government. Nay, Samuel Maveric, who from his attachment to the episcopal church, as from his liberal hospitality and noble free thinking in regard to manners, was naturally an object of suspicion to puritanical lawgivers, was, in the year 1635, forbidden to lodge a guest longer than a single night. By the same decree he was ordered, under a penalty of £100, to remove his abode from Middle Island to Boston. In one of the earlier courts of assistants it was ordained, that no planter within the bounds of this jurisdiction, who returned to England, should take with him gold or beaver, without permission of the then governor, under pain of forfeiting the gold and beaver about to be transported.

There could be no restriction of the press in a land where there was as yet no printing-office, and hence the more unbounded was the despotism, which could scarcely be paralleled in the oriental states. The fate of Roger Williams, and especially of Anna Hutchinson,

which give the most striking proofs of this, will be circumstantially related in their proper places. But even cases where the judges were not personally embittered by bigotry, incautious speakers were punished with the most un pitying severity. The scourge, imprisonment, and banishment, were the usual punishments for expressions of ill-will, or discontent with the rules of the government, or the proceedings of the church. Whilst the neighbouring colonies showed themselves somewhat laxer in church and political discipline, the authorities of Salem and the Salem church, under Peters, rivalled each other in their inexorable severity. One Dame Oliver there, poor but wise, and, as was acknowledged even by her opponents, distinguished for her piety, complained loudly that she could not be admitted to the communion without laying down openly her confession of faith, and, when this was administered, made decided claims to it. She also protested against church exclusion by excommunication, and found fault in a manner which appeared so dangerous to the church authorities, that reproofs and imprisonment did not seem punishment enough. A cleft log of wood was affixed to the tongue which had dared to cast reproach on the church elders. She was openly flogged for the scandal she had uttered about the authorities! We have already spoken of the barbarous (for we can scarce call it otherwise) revenge which had been exercised against the unhappy Philip Radcliff. Winthrop, who, according to our views, appears on the whole a strict but not a harsh man, demanding much because he gave much, was complained of in the court of assistants as being too mild and remiss. The matter was referred to the clergy, who one and all voted against

Winthrop, and thinking more of the angry Jehovah than of the "all-governing love," for whose servants they gave themselves out, they agreed that in future the sword of justice should be used with more severity. In the same sitting it was resolved that the united authorities, but especially the governor, should support their position by more outward dignity, as, for instance, on public occasions, by an official show, official clothing, suite, &c. So soon did the democratic tendencies of the mass, the natural product of the wilderness, and of a condition in which bodily powers rose in value, begin to awaken care.

CHAPTER XII.

EXTENSION AND GROWTH.—RELIGIOUS CHARACTER OF
THE COLONY. ROGER WILLIAMS.—ANTINOMISTIC
SCHISM.—FROM 1633 TO 1640.

AFTER the first horrible impressions were overcome, which the news of the early, severe trials of the emigrants had created in the mother country, emigration had increased rapidly in extent. Between 1633 and 1640 twenty ships had come on an average every year to New England. The summer of 1635 alone brought three thousand emigrants ; the year 1638 rather more than fewer. At the very beginning we have seen them safely enjoying the advantages which the boundless realms of the wilderness offered them, and even defying the dangers of exposing themselves to the Indians, by extending too far, when they could thus win roomy meadows for their herds, which they, a people of tillers of the earth, regarded as their best riches. But the space here was soon too narrow for them. New colonies went forth from the scarcely formed plantations. The settlers of Plymouth had long ceased to have any quiet, and had spread along the Bay of Cape Cod. The shores of Connecticut were peopled out of the immediate neighbourhood of Boston, and those banished from the theocracy of Boston were obliged to win from the wilderness a new place of residence in Providence, Rhode Island, or Exeter. All the

masses of emigrants who came from England, went on without attaching themselves to the old settlers, in order to build settlements quite separate from theirs.

The most favourable positions on the sea-coast, near rivers which fell into the sea, were soon beset. The settlements inland were bound up with endless difficulties and troubles. Concord, the first settlement deeper inland, wrested, in 1635, from the wilderness with superhuman exertions, in which it was necessary at one and the same time to coerce thicket, rock, and marsh, shows of what the human will is capable when spurred on by the power of the mind. For, between the blows of the axe in their restless labours, were heard unceasing psalms and songs of thanks; from the huts leaning against the side of the mountain, which a roof of branches scarcely protected against the slightest rain, there arose, when night called them home to their wives and children, fervent prayer to the Lord of Hosts, who had freed them from persecutions, and had allotted a place to his elect, in order to build a worthy temple to him.

Nevertheless, with modest claims, the settlements had at last on all sides attained a certain moderate degree of prosperity; the live stock of the whole colony was in the year 1640 estimated at three thousand head of sheep, and twelve thousand head of horned cattle. The first supplies of the latter from England had, for the most part, perished on their way. This occasioned a great need of them for many years; and as the farmers could not do without cattle, the older colonists had it in their power to make the new comers pay what prices they thought proper, so that a milch cow was sold for £25 to £30, and a farmer who could spare a single cow every year,

reckoned that he could clothe his whole family out of the proceeds.

The wages for work rose in a short time so high, that in the very first year the government, acting upon the erroneous principles of the political economy of those days, thought itself bound to fix them at a certain rate, under a heavy penalty for giver and taker; a regulation which, as in the order of things it could not be kept to, had to be renewed every year for some time.* Provisions were reasonable. Game and fish were furnished by the woods and streams, which were free to every one; the principal food was maize, the corn of the Indians, now in America simply called corn, for which the land seemed best adapted.

At first it was looked upon as a very singular kind of food by the colonists, and great was the joy when, in 1633, a small piece of rye had been sown and reaped, and the produce was laid before the assembly. But the value of the other precious growth, wholesome and savoury, was soon recognized. As early as 1640 they were enabled to export wheat to India, and they soon set to work to procure themselves hemp and flax for household use, and the preparation of the most needful articles of linen.

Trade was very indifferent in the first seven years. In the beginning it seems to have been exclusively in the hands of the patentees; but all data are wanting touching this point, as well as those relative to arrangements on breaking up. The leaders of the commonwealth had mostly been opulent and landed men in England.

* The price was fixed at 1s. for masons and carpenters, and 6d. for field labourers.

Commercial life was strange to them, and, at first, building, the support of the bulk of the inhabitants, and the maintenance of order occupied all their time. A small commerce was soon begun with the Indians in their neighbourhood, and furs were obtained from them by barter. For these, building-wood and fish were the principal articles of export.

They soon saw how important it was that they should build their own ships. Winthrop had a vessel built at his own cost. So long as the emigration was on the increase, the products of the country scarcely sufficed for their own consumption. But when, in the year 1640, the altered state of matters, and especially the coming want of money, threw them more back on the export trade, they went doughtily to work, and, two years after, five ships, from 100 tons to 400 tons, the latter comparable to the largest then built, were on the sea and some others in progress.

While all material matters were thus prospering, spiritual affairs afforded ample cause of discord. But they were limited to Boston, or, from their promoting the extension of the colony, and occasioning new undertakings, were rather wholesome than injurious to the main body.

We have seen that in the year 1631 a young clergyman, of the name of Roger Williams, had arrived. The name of this remarkable man is unknown to the German reader, and yet that which has given such importance to his life would scarcely be responded to so cordially anywhere as in Germany. For Roger Williams was the first, of modern times, who called into life the idea of complete freedom of conscience, and who incorporated

it fifty years before Penn, by founding a state, of which it formed the moral and principal basis. This was the settlement on Rhode Island, the germ of the present state of that name. Few men have been more differently judged by contemporaries and posterity than he ; while his contemporaries hated and contemned him as an eccentric wronghead, and even those who acknowledged and made use of his noble disposition, detested and rejected his principles as dangerous and absurd, writers of modern times have represented him as a philosopher who, elevated above all the prejudices of his age, had contemplated the relations of the Christian to the citizen only in the purest light of truth. Both were wrong ; Roger Williams, on the contrary, carried very strongly the impress of his age. His fanatical conscientiousness, his anxious striving after consistency, his scrupulous mind itself, belonged to the age ; his great-hearted liberality, his noble-minded love of his neighbours, and his forgiving kindness belonged to himself alone. When contemporary writers pronounce him at his first appearance, a little unsettled in judgment, we can only agree with them. Striving unweariedly after the truth, in a world full of "spiritual treachery," searching without weariness after the light of knowledge in that "gloaming" time which satisfied his fellow-believers, but not him, we see him wave to and fro like a reed between diseased scruples of conscience, and half-true throes of belief ; sometimes embracing the whole human race with love, sometimes raving that he was stained by contact with the unholy, until at last all these errors and vapours of the schools are absorbed into the natural brightness of his sharp and all-embracing understanding,

and into the warmth of his great heart filled with Christian love. Roger Williams was born in Wales, and was scarcely thirty-two years old when he landed in America. Of his youthful history we know little. At an early period his mind seems to have shown itself disposed towards higher things. In his disputation against the Quakers, written in 1673, he casually mentions "how sixty years ago, when he was as yet a child, the Father of light and mercies had touched his heart with love to him, and his only begotten Son, the true Jesus, and to the holy writings, &c.," and he was also a boy when—for so in the state founded by him the tradition has been handed down to an admiring posterity—he was observed by Sir Edward Coke, the celebrated jurist, then Chief Justice of England, diligently writing notes on the sermon; the knight, struck with the intelligence which broke forth in the dialogue he had with the boy, never lost sight of him, and had him educated, and, as the tale goes, brought up under his own tutorage, to be a jurist. But theology was the stalking-horse of the day, the science of the times, and Williams was carried along by the stream. Although for a time compelled by necessity, he submitted to the act of conformity; yet his heart was not with the high church; and when he at last wandered out to the colony, we find him so embittered against it, that he was not merely ready openly to testify his repentance for ever having had communion with it, but also demanded with fanatical consistency the same resolution from the church of Boston, before he attached himself to it. The fathers of the colony were, however, by no means inclined to lay themselves open to the attacks of the high church, whose power, with Laud at their head,

rose every day ; for although a few years after, when they could do it unpunished, we find them acting on the very same principles as Williams, and abjuring all communion with the Church of England, yet they would not countenance such boldness in individuals before the whole assembly of the holy had sworn to it. But this severe separation only recommended him the more to the Salem Church, which, penetrated by Endecott's influence, demanded him as teacher. Skelton was pastor, and, like the other, a strict, narrow-minded zealot. The Bostoners heard of this with wonder and displeasure, and the Salemers were told in a circular from the government, not to take such steps, without taking counsel with them, and requested not to go further until the matters had been more maturely discussed. For so closely grown together were church and state, that, as the authorities took no steps without consulting with the church elders, so these dared not choose their officials without consent of the authorities. But the Salemers did not recant their choice ; and Williams, by his humane behaviour, and the power of his eloquence, in a short time gained the unbounded love and esteem of his community, and obtained very great influence over them.

It was by no means this feeling merely towards the Church of England, which had given offence to the government of Massachusetts, even though, perhaps, all the other dangerous views of the young eccentric clergyman did not come to light. The mistrust raised against him created suspicion and disquieted his life and labours in Salem, and he found it expedient to 1631 withdraw to Plymouth, where he occasionally preached and regularly prophesied for Ralph Smith,

who did not satisfy the community there. Wherever Williams turned, whether right or wrong, he was always an honest, bold, free thinker, and naturally aroused his hearers to free thinking. Where his powerful word fell, there it kindled a flame. Bradford describes him in his diary as a man "full of the fear of God and zeal, but very unsettled in judgment." He declares himself his debtor for the lessons that he had drawn from his sermons, as also for the severe warnings and admonitions, so far as they agreed with truth." He was respectfully treated and as well paid as their poverty permitted. During a residence of two or three years at Plymouth, a free intercourse with the Indians, who were on the best terms possible with the inhabitants, gave him excellent opportunities of studying their language and manners, and gaining their respect and love. Here also he wrote the essay which again brought down on him the anger of the fathers of Massachusetts, for he maintained, what no one now-a-days will dispute, "that the king of England had no right whatever to give away these lands on which they had settled, but that they belonged exclusively to the natives, and must be bought in by auction from them." He, after this, alludes with bitterness to the two kings, James and Charles, and transfers to the latter as a monarch the contempt which the former deserved as a man. This essay was not published, but only written as a private communication for governor Bradford, and some other of the gentlemen in Plymouth, whose opinions agreed with his own in all material points.

But they were not come to this corner of the earth, to contest the king's right, founded or unfounded. Towards the Indians they had a good conscience, and they wished

here to enjoy the peace of the wilderness, with no other ambition than that of serving God according to the purest forms. However that may be, there was no harmony between the warm, eccentric, defying spirit of the young preacher, and the sober, severe exclusive men of Plymouth. Williams also had grown attached to Salem, which had first of all granted him a home, and where he had gained warm friends. Thither accordingly he wished to return, and begged to be released; but in Plymouth also many a heart had begun to turn towards him, and now sought to hold him fast. In Salem Skelton declined apace, and needed the help of which Roger Williams lent him till his death, after which, the Salem community, without asking the government, again chose him to be their pastor.

But he was now become an object of suspicion and hatred to the government, on account of some openly-spoken opinions, among which were the following:—He had directly after his arrival stated his conviction, that no government had a right to punish any one for breaking the Sabbath, or the first four commandments, or the first Table; that this should be left to the conscience, and, with those who had closed a church covenant, to the church authorities, which last he wished to separate strictly from the civic. The latter was only entitled to interfere when such violation of law disturbed the public peace. This was a heresy, such as had not been heard of before. So long as Roger Williams lived in Salem without a public situation much could not be done with him, quietly and peaceably as he lived. It is true he was summoned before the general court, on account of the above-mentioned writing (of which Winthrop had heard, and had moved

that it might be privately demanded), to justify himself against the principles therein mentioned. But as he did not give himself the trouble to defend them, and good-humouredly declared that he had only written them as his private opinion, and for the governor of Plymouth, and offered, for the sake of peace, to burn them with his own hand, as they gave umbrage, the matter was allowed to fall to the ground. For the feeling against the king was such, that the attack on his personal power could be considered at most as dangerous, but not any longer as sinful. But yet, even during the life of Skelton, he, by the superiority of his mind, and the heart-winning goodness of his intercourse, exercised a power over the Salemers which the government could not behold with tranquillity. When, soon after this, Endecott, who had command over the military in Salem, with his usual energetic bigotry had the cross cut out of the royal colours, and the men refused to follow the tatters—this illegal action was attributed to the influence of Williams, and his detestation of the popish sign of the cross. In the same manner that zealot had recommended the women of Salem, in consonance with the words of the apostle, not to appear outside the house, and especially in the church, without veils; a regulation which was strictly followed out, though with some ill-will; but when Cotton, who had already entered into some understanding with Endecott about this matter, went himself to Salem, and in a forenoon sermon demonstrated that the holy writings had only recommended the veil when it was a sign of submission, and showed by precept from the word of God what was the fitting place for it, all the pretty Salemites appeared the same afternoon without veils.

This absurdity was also attributed to the influence of Roger Williams; according to others to that of Skelton. And when we see Williams at this period of his life driven painfully hither and thither between subtleties and anxious scruples, often erring in his path in order to be consistent, and often renouncing what is permitted for fear of sinning, we do not consider it improbable that it might emanate from him. Of a fiery spirit, and communicative as he was, he could not forbear, although at bottom far removed from all proselytism, instead of working out his diseased scruples in his own mind, communicating them, unripe and undigested, to the assemblies, or, in the spirit of the times, from the pulpit, where they naturally, instead of edifying, only disturbed men's minds. Not following the opinion of Luther, whose spirit was as bold as it was clear, that everything is allowable which is not forbidden by the word of God, he meditated day and night to bring his whole life into harmony with God; and as he endeavoured only to be severe and consistent, he fell into a thousand absurdities. The same objections which made all the puritans detest the noble Common Prayer of the English church, which calls to heaven with the same voice the sinner and the holy, the believing and the unbelieving, when carried out with strict consistency, necessarily made it appear sinful to him to unite himself in prayer at all with the unregenerated. In the same sense no oath was to be taken by the authorities from a man not born again, because this might lead him to perjury, and God's name be taken in vain. He found no authority for grace after meals, and wished therefore to omit it. For all these assertions he was repeatedly cited before the

court, and had to defend himself, sometimes against the authorities, sometimes against the clergy. The latter he had incensed immediately after his arrival in Salem, when, observing the spirit of some ambitious individuals, he had spoken against the regular fortnightly meetings introduced by them, as leading to presbytery and clerical inspection. The others he had converted into deadly enemies by his opinions on their rights of punishing blasphemers and sabbath breakers. The occasion on which he appeared against the latter was calculated to make them particularly obnoxious. For the government found it good, with the dangers which threatened from England, to exact an express oath of fealty from the colonists, which was to be a sort of testing how far they could rely on them. But when Roger Williams's expositions were known among the people, objections began to be heard from all sides, so that the authorities found it prudent to abstain from this measure.

When Skelton died, the choice which the church of Salem made necessarily appeared very offensive, and as a sinful defiance to demand punishment, for which an opportunity was soon found. The township of Salem handed in to the government a petition, in which they represented their right to a certain piece of land, and required to be put in possession of it. But as they had set themselves against the authorities by showing in the election contempt for their power, the petition was rejected, and thus an acknowledged civic right was refused on account of a church transgression. Hereupon, at the instigation of Williams, the church of Salem wrote to the other churches in the Bay, with the request

to admonish the government to a more just proceeding. Such a step was so completely in the spirit of the puritanical churches, strictly separated in theory from the state, that only a complete prepossession of the judgment could see anything wrong in it. But such was the feeling against Williams, that the measure of his injuries seemed with this to be filled up; and all the churches, the elders of which had hated him, took part against him. Williams, irritated at last to bitterness by such treatment, refused intercourse with his own church, so long as it should hold communion with the others. The church of Salem, dispirited by the disapprobation of all the sister churches, and of the highest authorities, fell away from him. Williams began to hold spiritual assemblies in his own house, which, being visited by not a few of his enthusiastic hangers-on, threatened to divide the church in two. His own wife, in other points loving and submissive, but trembling at the ban of the church, did not join his sect, which must have been a source of care to him. For all these offences he was, October, 1635, again summoned before the General Assembly, and as he would not acknowledge himself guilty, nor even conquered, in a disputation held with Hooker upon the point, he was by the government, with the assent of all the clergymen except one, banished from the territory of Massachusetts.

A respite of six weeks was accorded him by the General Assembly, but as this term would have brought on his banishment in winter, permission was a short time after granted him to stay till spring. But as Williams unconcernedly continued his assemblies, and

more and more friends and youths assembled round one so deeply injured and so soon to be lost, and the news came that he contemplated, with twelve of his hangers-on, erecting a settlement for himself in Narragansett Bay, and that some of the latter were gone forth in order to look after a fitting spot; the vicinity of this eloquent man, the prospect of seeing the infection of his principles spread from thence over the other churches, appeared too dangerous not to make more stringent rules against him a duty. He was accordingly called once more to Boston, in order to be shipped from thence to England, as a criminal unworthy of their community. Williams sent word that he was ill (as was indeed confirmed by intelligence from Salem), and could not perform the journey without danger to his life. Thereupon a pin-nace was sent off, commissioned to seize, and bring on board a ship which lay ready for sea in Nantasket, the man whose sole offence lay in having wished to think for himself. But when the officer charged with this duty arrived at his house in Salem, he had already been gone three days, whither no one knew; and those who did, did not wish to say.

From the later letters of Williams we are justified in presuming that it was Winthrop himself who had warned him in a private letter, and had counselled him to make for Narragansett Bay. According to this letter, he had only submitted to the majority in that resolution, which he reports in his diary without in other respects announcing the least misapprobation, exactly as if it had emanated from him, and he had wished as a man to succour Williams in the very object in which as state leader he wished to thwart him. However that

may be, Williams was a man to write injuries in sand and good deeds in marble, and, even in advanced age, spoke of his persecutors with love.

The history of this noble-minded man is, up to this period, only known to us from the writings of his opponents, at the head of whom stood the influential Cotton, who exercised such omnipotent power over the spirits of his contemporaries and fellow-believers, and, alas! as we have already said, the celebrated Winthrop, whose innermost nature—firmly shut up in itself, and prompt, without a trace of enthusiasm and inaccessible to new movements—was naturally calculated to repel the fermenting and even inflammable spirit of Roger Williams and his then more enlightened than enlightening ideas. But when time had brought these to full ripeness, and he had laid them down in several writings with philosophical clearness, after having, as founder and law-giver of a new common weal, called to life the idea of a perfect freedom of conscience; after he had with Christian forgiveness repaid injuries and persecutions a thousand-fold with benefits and sacrificing services, and every publication had stamped on his character the impress of a perfect unselfishness, and all-forgiving and noble mind, the state founded by him remained, though he was there respected, the object of his contempt, nay, of his detestation.

Thus then the unlucky fugitive, scarcely risen from his sick bed, was driven forth into the wilderness homeless and friendless, in the middle of the stern winter—for it was in January, the coldest month in those regions. For, although many of his hangers-on joined him, he seems to have begun his dangerous wanderings all

alone. We cannot find out how he really fled from Salem. Every road through the country that he could choose, must lead him through the territory of his foes and persecutors. He probably went across the bay in a boat, and landed in the territory of Plymouth, where many of his friends lived, and worked his way through the woods to the Indians. "Fourteen weeks," says he in a later writing, "was I in a bitter season miserably driven about, without knowing what a piece of bread or a bed was." Without guides he wandered through the wilderness, and oft in a stormy night without fire, without food, without a companion. A hollow tree was his only shelter; thus he came to Massasoit, the chief of the Pokanokets. During his stay in Plymouth he had learnt the language of the natives, and prince and people had learned to love the man who honoured their rights, spared their prejudices, and prayed for their weal. Massasoit received him hospitably; he was engaged in serious dissensions with Canonicus, the chief of the Narragansetts, to whom Williams soon reconciled him. Massasoit had been his friend for years, and the young Miantonomo soon had confidence in him; and the "barbarous heart" of the old prince of the Narragansetts "loved him like a son to his latest breath." "Let no one," he thankfully exclaims, "mistrust providence; these ravens fed me in the wilderness."

Banished in this way from his own people, he now pitched his tent in the wilderness. In Seacomb, now Rehoboth, not far from the east arm of the Bay of Narragansett, he had purchased a piece of land from Massasoit, and had begun to build and plant. Here his five associates seem to have joined him; simple men

from Salem, among them a miller and a smith, with whom we see him soon after leave the place. For he was yet to find no peace. A letter from Edward Winslow, then governor of Plymouth, informed him that the place which he had chosen was included in their patent, and that they (he and his associates) *ought not to destroy it along with the Bay*.^{*} He counselled him therefore to cross the river, where he would be free and independent like themselves. Winslow's letter thus drove him to the very spot whither Winthrop had previously urged him. "I accepted his wise counsel as a voice from God," says Williams, and seized anew his pilgrim's staff. He was thankful for the advice of his enemies. "I have ever honoured and loved them," he writes after to Winthrop's clearer-sighted son, "even when their judgment carried them to persecute me."

In an Indian canoe, accompanied by five friends, he rowed up the arm of the bay now called the river Seaconk. "What cheer, Englishmen?" called out to them the friendly Narragansetts from the other side in broken English; the poor fugitives rejoiced at the greeting, and called the place from which the welcome came forth, What cheer? a name which this spot of land still preserves. Yet they went further round by Point Fox and landed on the west shore. A spring called Williams' spring is still shown by a thankful posterity, near the spot where the father of the future free state first set foot on shore.

They were now in the land of the Narragansetts. The place was called by the Indians Maushasuck.

^{*} Of Massachusetts. The colony is generally so named in all the older writings.

Williams received, through the noble generosity of the old chief Canonicus, a present of all the land which the rivers Pawtucket and Manshasuck, now Providence river, form a half island of ; a piece of generosity which the chief, after the manner of the Indians, expected to see reciprocated with costly presents.* This he shared with his five comrades and seven other friends from Salem, who joined him in the course of the same summer (thus making their number up to thirteen), and this without reserving a foot more of land or any advantages for himself, although, as he expressed himself in a later writing, the land as certainly belonged to him alone "as the coat which he wore on his back." Here they united themselves into a sort of town-fellowship and church. One of their first resolutions was, that no one should ever suffer for conscience sake. Out of poor huts built by themselves soon grew up a village, which Williams, in reference to the heavenly hand which had led him thither, called Providence.

But few documents have reached posterity of the first five years of existence of this colony. It was June or July when the first settlers arrived. Too late in summer to reckon upon a harvest, the planters lived long in the bitterest poverty, deprived of all comforts and often of the most necessary things. One of their earliest historians presumes, and rightly, that they wanted paper to keep the necessary registers ; what documents still exist are written on small pieces of paper, as closely scribbled as possible. They could only obtain such articles of luxury from Boston or Plymouth, from which the rude winter

* An Indian gift had become proverbial among the English for a present when the giver expected one still more considerable in return.

shut them out, as they had only a small Indian canoe to go in. Williams himself was so impoverished, that it smote to the heart Edward Winslow, "that great and pious soul," when he paid him a friendly visit in Providence; and he pressed a piece of gold into the hands of his wife at parting. He had little leisure for writing. True, he taught and preached among the Indians and his own companions. "But," as he himself remarks of this period of his life, "my time was not entirely taken up by spiritual work, for I was striving day and night, at home and out of doors, on land and on water, with the hatchet and the oar *to gain bread.*"

Under such circumstances the new colony, the third independent settlement in New England, grew up only slowly. Yet in the course of two years the number of the settlers amounted to about one hundred. The first twelve considered it at a later period only reasonable to compensate their leader for the outlay he had made, and they, together with the after-comers, subscribed for him the sum of £30. He who came after the first thirteen received a piece of land for a moderate price, and entered upon all the rights of the other burghers. Roger Williams had extended the territory of the colony by the purchase of a piece of land between the rivers Pawtucket and Pawtuxet. He even appears to have defrayed this purchase out of his own means. But he, as one of his sons related, gave away his estates and other goods to those who had most need of them, until he had given away all he possessed. Loved and honoured by the Sachems, as by the common Indians, they would only hold communication with those of Massachusetts by his inter-mediation. But this did not save the settlers of Provi-

dence from having here and there frays with some of the savages, nor from being obliged to protect their property by force of arms. Also in the interior of the beginning state, which was only governed by the majority of the assembly, there was no want of agitation ; for as it was a general place of refuge for "all persecuted for conscience sake," the most contrary elements were ready there to mix with or repel each other, and in the latter case this could not occur without angry collisions.

Williams, except on the one point of freedom of conscience, his inner man not yet purified and restlessly bent on seeking out the right road for his soul, thought for a time he had found it in the doctrine of the Anabaptists, but was soon aware of his error. After having, in his anxious dread of the unholy, withdrawn himself from all religious intercourse with those of another opinion, he now opened his heart to a full love for all mankind ; and this seems to have been the last halting place of his wanderings in the labyrinth of over-reasoned disquisition. The ardent manner in which he entered upon an active life was a process of purification for his spirit, and the views which he laid down in his religious disputes with Cotton, or rather against the Inquisition doctrine of religious intolerance, are those of a pious but clear-thinking Christian. But they of Massachusetts watched the political innovations of the formless community of this young colony with malicious illwill, and the striving of its founder after truth with scorn and contempt. But how he repaid revilings with goodness, persecutions with loveful devotion ; hostile contempt

by the sacrifice of his own interests, we shall soon have an opportunity of telling the reader.

The disputes occasioned by Williams's views were not the first which had disturbed the church of Massachusetts. A little more than a year after their first founding, the community of Watertown brought in some 1631 bitter complaints against their elder, Richard Brown, with whom they declared they could no longer have communion, as he insisted "that the church of Rome was the true church," and maintained with vehemence this and other serious errors. If, in the affair of Williams, the counsel of the clergy cast the balance, here, on the contrary, the counsel of the authorities was demanded, but, after more mature deliberation, only as member of the neighbouring community; the contest naturally ended with the dismissal of the elder. Soon after, there broke out in the church of Charlestown a contest between the community and their pastor; and in Lagos (Lynn) it came to such an open uproar that the authorities were obliged to interfere and remove the old pastor, who would not give way, and at a later period conducted himself in a similar way in other communities.

In Boston itself, the church had by means of Cotton's activity attained her highest influence; and his attractive eloquence, his mild, kind, and at the same time imposing manner, had drawn many indifferent, and conducted back many repentants to the lap of the church. "Church and State order," he wrote to Davenport, who still lingered in England, "is now set so fast here that New England recalls to me the new heaven and the

new earth where the just dwell." "But," says one of their old almost contemporary historians, "the wicked one, who always envies the happy thriving of the church, took every opportunity of circumventing it." Through logical controversies, which unexpectedly broke out with such violence that they, with all the intimate growth of church and state, at once rent the community in twain, and would in their subtleties and hair-splittings scarcely be intelligible to modern readers. It is the difficult task of the historian to work his way through the tasteless school lumber and antiquated jargon of a world which found her chief food in theology, and to give the reader a clear view of the not unimportant facts which were the immediate result of this.

A spiritual author of our day has endeavoured to transplant into our time not only the language but the circle of ideas then in vogue. "Amidst the claims of clerical pride," says he, "the soarings of an unbridled power of the imagination, and the absurdities on which the power of the imagination may stumble, when searching for ultimate principles, the formation of two different parties may be perceived. The first consisted of the old settlers, the creators of the civic government, and their hangers-on, who had aimed at founding and preserving a state, and were contented with a fixed government; they had founded their government on the basis of the church, and only the favour of the clergy and an exemplary life could elevate to the membership of the church. They feared unbounded freedom of opinion as the "creatix" of unbounded divisions." "The rents and clefts of the new building of the Reformation announced a fall." "They thought they wished for

patriotism, unity, and a common heart; they were zealously bent on strengthening and building up the state, the child of their sorrows and troubles. It was made a reproach to them that they were priest-ridden magistrates under a covenant of works."

"The other party was composed of individuals who had arrived when the burgherly and religious constitution of the colony was already formed. They came fresh from the study of the articles of belief in Geneva, and placed their pride in appropriating to themselves, with logical precision, the principles of the Reformation in all their deductions. Their eyes were not at first directed to the institutions of Massachusetts, but to the theorems of their religious system. They had come to the wilderness for the sake of religious freedom of opinions, and strove against every form of despotism over the mind. To them the clergy of Massachusetts were the servants of persecution, popish factions who had not adopted the true doctrine of Christian reform, and they applied to the puritan preachers the principle which Calvin and Luther had raised against the observances and claims of the Romish Church. Every political opinion and every philosophical theorem took on, in those days, a theological form. With the doctrine of justification through faith alone, they scorned the formalities of the established church; and while they maintained that the Holy Ghost dwells in every believer, that the revelation of the spirit is higher than the announcement of the word, they battled with the most unbounded fanaticism for the highest authority of the personal judgment."

This representation certainly gives us a nearer view

of the theological controversies of that agitated time ; but still we fear that with this translation of these relations into the more comprehensive ones of our day, not a little of their character has been lost.

Not merely was the form theological in which political and philosophical ideas were presented. It was rather the theology, that is, the knowledge of God and the relations of created, fallen, and redeemed man to him, which was carried out in all other forms and relations, and first gave them the right amount of inspiration. Cotton's doctrines of the free workings of grace, and the faithful waiting thereupon of the inner union with Jesus ; and the tokens of the same had by their reception into the souls of his community, who might still feel themselves hemmed in their free breath by the pressure of the law, dug the ground for the seed so soon to shoot forth from it in fertile luxuriance. "A true yearning after holiness," preached Cotton, "is holiness," and even when in cases of spiritual neglect a sinful man lies so broken and prostrate, that he can recognize no desire in himself, and only waits, like a trodden-down worm, at the feet of Christ, there is yet ground for consolation, &c.

Although he now, with this and his other views of grace and free will, taught nothing else than what Luther had taught against Erasmus and the whole Catholic world, yet the other clergymen in the Bay took umbrage at it, especially Wilson, the pastor of the Boston community, whose teacher Cotton was. Cotton's rightness of belief and holiness were sure enough, and he always enjoyed the highest esteem as a Christian and a teacher. But men feared, and not improperly, the further ex-

poundings and inductions of the doctrines of perfect freedom of the will, and the denial of all innate justice as a claim to salvation ; especially as many members began to refer to their own personal revelations. " For when such groundless revelations," says the old historian above mentioned, " were accepted in one thing, they must be so in all. On such soil were enacted the tragedies of Munster and other places."

These religious views were especially developed and promoted by a lady, the real incendiary of the antinomistic war, which for a time shook the whole commonwealth. This was Mrs. Anna Hutchinson, the wife of one of the assistants, a woman of active spirit, fluent tongue, extraordinary knowledge of 1636 Scripture, great compassion, and who had come over from England about the same time as Cotton and Hooker, and had brought with her some dangerous errors ; such as, that the Holy Ghost dwelt in a justified person, that no sanctification of the mode of life attests to us our justification, that the Christian remains dead to every spiritual action, and does not possess more gifts and grace than the hypocrite, when he does not wed himself to the Holy Ghost, &c.

This woman, by her benevolent and pleasing manner, and by assisting the poor and needy of her own sex, had won much love among them, as well as influence, by her wisdom and her frequent warnings against the covenant of works. Her elevations of the free grace, and her admonitions to suppress the creature and leave all to Christ, had not been without effect. Assemblies of the women, sixty to eighty in number, were arranged, at first only in order

to explain the Sunday sermons more clearly to the weaker sisters, but soon in order to announce their own wisdom. Here the subjects of conversation were, that the letter of Scripture contained nothing else than the covenant of works; but that the covenant of grace was the spirit of the Scripture, and only known to the believing; the former was given by Moses in his ten commandments. Abraham's carnal seed lived in it, and contained certain life, by means of which a man could attain to the greatest sanctification in gifts and grace, and also have spiritual intercourse with Jesus Christ, and yet be damned; that the Holy Spirit dwelt in person in the faithful as he is in heaven. Also that faith did not suffice for justification; was only an empty vessel for reception, &c. All this was declared by open revelations; but, what was most captivating, it was not concealed that Cotton alone taught the covenant of grace, and all the other preachers of the Bay the covenant of works.

This was preached to the wives and daughters of the most respectable men in Boston; "and," says Hubbard, "as Satan once, in order to corrupt the human race, began with Eve, so the present plan was found the best adapted to the object, and became marvellously true in and around Boston; for the doctrines passed from the women to the men. All Boston was soon divided into Antinomists and Legalists, and the strife threatened to snap every social tie.

The Antinomists found their chief support in the brother-in-law of the enthusiast, a preacher of the name of Wheelwright, whom a part of the community of Braintree wished to draw to Boston and have as teacher

beside Cotton. A proposition to which Cotton was openly opposed, partly because they were so well provided, and partly because he invincibly declared that his doctrines were dangerous. His influence by sermons and extraordinary occasions still remained unimpaired : the whole community of Boston turned towards him ; only Cotton besides him was heard with reverence. When Wilson entered the pulpit, half the assembly left the house : the government thought otherwise ; for when, soon after, in a sermon for a fast day, Wheelwright had exposed his principles in a very decided manner, and not without personal application, they took this opportunity to summon him before court ; his sermon was condemned as contrary to law and seditious, but the sentence against his person was deferred to the next sitting.

The Antinomists had another stay in the then governor, Henry Vane, who was a personal friend of Dame Hutchinson and inmate of the same house, and a warm admirer of Cotton. This distinguished young man, scarcely twenty-four years old, of a highly esteemed noble family in England, had come over here a short time previously, being dissatisfied with the state of matters then existing in England. Although introduced by his father, Sir Henry Vane, at an early period into the most important relations of practical life, he remained a thorough enthusiast, and the court recognised so justly the dangerous character of his enthusiasm, that the king, when questioned by Sir Henry about the admissibility of a journey to America for which his son wished, ordered him to let the son go for three years ; either to keep him out of England, or else because he held this to be the best

means of curing his visionary views. The colonists were flattered by the interest which the young, able, and thoroughly earnest nobleman showed them, particularly as they were at that time bent on winning for themselves the high nobility in order to have a new stay for their institutions. With a view of showing him honour, they chose him governor for the next year, a station for which his youth, as well as the circumstance that he was only residing among them as a guest, ought to have made him unfit. The step was scarcely taken before the folly of it was felt. Nevertheless there was every excuse for the overhaste, in Vane's noble personal appearance, and pure inclinations, when ambition and pride did not come in the way. "If he did not stand above Hampden," said one who knew mankind well, "he certainly did not stand under any man; Milton found him worthy of his undying muse." Cromwell hated and feared him. All this testifies to the extraordinary nature of the man: but with all his genius, his soul was filled with gloomy thoughts; and in the enthusiastic elevation of himself as one of the elect of God, dreaming that he was inspired and elevated by the "love" above the law, he now heard his inmost sentiments pronounced by the eloquent lips of Anna Hutchinson. He was destined for Connecticut, but he willingly allowed himself to be detained by Cotton in Boston, and attached himself to his church; and his weight first gave to the Antinomists a true political character.

The heads of the opposite party were, besides all the clergy, Winthrop and Dudley; the first especially, who in theological causes was as experienced as any clergyman, took throughout an active part in the unlucky

contention. Nearly the whole church of Boston had fallen off, and they had to seek for their followers in the other churches of the Bay. The election of Vane had been felt, as has been remarked, as an over-hurry. Throughout the colonies he could only hope to be supported a second time by his church friends. In order as much as possible to withdraw the poll of the authorities from their influence, the election was transferred from Boston to Newtown, not without serious contests.

The day of election approached. On account of the heat of the season (May 17), and the number of freemen who had arrived, the court of election was held in an open field. Immediately after the opening of the sitting, a petition was handed in from the town of Boston, in favour of Wheelwright; a similar one having been rejected at the last court of assistants, on account of containing a false representation of the state of matters, and of the authorities being blamed in it. When governor Vane now wished to read it, Winthrop as vice-governor interfered; he said it was the constitutional day of election, and the business of election must precede all other. The voices were divided. There was such an excitement as had never been seen in the colony. Defiant speeches were held here and there; some even got to blows; some cried, to the elections! to the elections! others, petition! The venerable preacher Wilson, seized by the spirit of the day, climbed upon a tree, and in a persuasive speech exhorted the assembly to keep firm to their charter, and devote this day to the election of the authorities. This speech made an impression; the great majority were for the elections; the

governor was over-voted, and at the poll taken there, the other heads of his party were quite left out of the new staff—Winthrop being made governor and Dudley vice-governor.

Vane was exasperated in the highest degree, and showed what he felt against Winthrop, even in private life, avoiding his society in every way. Irritated at the manner in which he was thwarted, he had already stated the necessity of his return to England on account of family relations. The many annoyances, as well political as religious, so stung him, young and irritable as he was, that he burst into tears in the public council. If he had been placed at the head of affairs, he would willingly have allowed himself to be detained, but the slight he had received, and this neglect, decided him upon hastening off. His future career belongs to the history of England, where he attained high standing, and expended his energies in calling into life his dim and impalpable ideal of a fanatical democracy, an effort for which he paid the penalty on the scaffold after the restoration of Charles II. to the throne.

In our colony the party of the law had again decidedly won the upper hand at the victory on the day of election. Boston indeed openly showed its displeasure in the above-named law, given out at this very sitting, that no inhabitant under heavy penalties should, without the special permission of a magistrate, either keep a stranger in his house longer than three weeks, or sell or let him land. This aimed at hindering the increase of the Antinomist party by new arrivers, for a community was expected from England, whose preacher was known to be partial to such views. Cotton felt himself especially

injured, as he saw the growth of his church so checked by it. Accordingly when, after the dissolution of the assembly, Winthrop came back to Boston, he met with the coldest reception: the other townships repaid him, however, for this, by double honours on a journey which he soon after took. Winthrop, however, neither allowed himself to be acted on by love nor hate, but went on unshaken in the narrow path of what he held to be his duty.

In the mean time the mind of Cotton had been not a little disturbed by the extension which his community gave to his doctrines, and by the most fanatical Antinomists referring to him and his sermons. From the very beginning, though often personally hurt, he had striven to keep peace between the two parties, and endeavoured to represent the difference as unreal, and such in fact it was. In a speech which he made on the occasion of the departure of a ship with many passengers, he commissioned the latter to say to the brethren in the mother country, that all dispute arose out of their desire to glorify the name of God; that one party exalted the grace of God *in* us, the other the grace of God *towards* us; and that if there were among them souls that strove after grace, they might come thither, &c. When, at last, he saw, among his most zealous followers, meanings circulated which he held to be the most godless heresies, such as that "there was no resurrection of the flesh; that the Sabbath was a day like the others; that the soul is mortal until it marry itself to Christ, &c.," he confessed with tears that the evil enemy had sown thorns while he slept. He turned quite away from them, and being of a silent spirit, was ready to unite

with his spiritual brethren who came from far and near, to hold an assembly, and fix with them what articles of belief were to be tolerated.

Sept.
1636

This was the first synod in New England, and was held in Newtown. All the clergymen of the Bay, many of them unprovided for, who had but a short time since come from England, with deputies from all the churches and all the magistrates who were in the neighbourhood, were present. Three weeks were consumed in disputes and arguments, until at length all joined in condemning no less than eighty-two articles. Some of them were blasphemous, others false, and all dangerous. For this union men had to thank the dimness of the language in which the sentiments were couched, permitting an arbitrary exposition. The first few days were passed in passionate, often personal, bickerings. Many hangers-on of the Boston church protested against the authorities speaking with them, and left the assembly exasperated. "But here," says the report of an eye-witness, "showed themselves the wisdom and valuable genius of the governor; how he put down passionate and unfitting speeches; demanded, like another Constantine, that the divine oracles should speak and lay down their meanings, and postponed the assembly when he saw heat and passion, so that by the blessing of God, the assembly has been dissolved, and all opposing opinions, if not reconciled, at least, smoothed over; and those who came hither with embittered spirits parted in peace, and mutually pledged themselves that no difference of opinion should henceforth separate them, but that they should refer it to the

great God to solve our doubts on the day when we appear in his court.

The worldly power had only waited for the condemnation by the spiritual, to take its share also. Both always acted in concert, but in the synod the civic authority was only assessor; in the civic court the clergy only the same. The spiritual court condemned heresy, the worldly the heretic. At the next sitting of the general assembly, on the 2nd of November, the seditious petition was again debated upon, and two of the deputies were deposed from their offices; Aspenwall for having signed, and Coggeshall for having defended it. Then Wheelwright was summoned before them and called on to recant his heretical opinions; and on his refusal, was banished for ever from the territory of Massachusetts. His announcement that he would appeal to the king was spurned, with the intimation that their charter gave them the right of judging without reserve.

The turn then came to Mrs. Hutchinson, who had in the mean time quite coolly continued her lectures, although she had already appeared before the assembly of clergymen and had been examined by them privately, a proceeding which could only tend to strengthen her in her spiritual pride. The principal accusation brought against her was that of the words she had used against the preachers of the Bay, namely that they all, except Cotton, did not preach the covenant of the free grace of God, but that of works; that they had not the seal of the Spirit, &c.;* and that by such

* In one of the previous general assemblies, one of her followers, who had said that all the preachers of the Bay, except Cotton and Wheelwright, preached the covenant of works, was fined £40.

means they had alienated their communities. The two examinations by which she had been found guilty have been given to posterity by one of the early historians of Massachusetts, her great grandson; and if any thing can tell to her advantage, it is certainly these examinations, which exhibit the opposite party in the light of utter and hateful narrowmindedness and absolutism, with which they had resolved *from the very beginning* to find her guilty, could only do so by the most audacious circumvention of the forms of justice necessary in every civilized land. Besides the governor, who never appears in any action of his life in such an ignoble light, is here completely steeped in gall against the disturber of the peace, completely forgot his better self, because she, a woman, would teach men. We see the unlucky woman hard beset by two zealots, Dudley and Endecott, and not less than seven preachers taking the lists against her. These, her accusers, were at the same time the only witnesses against her, and on demand, two of them confirmed their depositions by oath. Their accusation was grounded on what they had drawn from her in the clerical assembly, by means of a sifting enquiry; for all agreed that she had been at first very reserved, and had not rightly and willingly brought out her expositions in answer to their ghostly call. Among her accusers was the otherwise noble Elliott, who appeared embittered by doubts pronounced on his call as teacher of the Christian love, *as though he could not produce better proofs in his own favour for all his life*; and Hugo Peters, afterwards assistant to Cromwell, then preacher to Salem. Even before this court the accused seems to have been reserved, for the sentence which had fallen on her father

necessarily made her cautious. She did not recant, but she did not admit all, and declared, but in vain, that her speeches had been garbled. But at last, in her fanatical vanity, she allowed herself to be led to expose her own revelations, from which we learn that she, the accused, would be freed, but that they the judges would perish, which, as the reader may suppose, was the crowning point. Banishment out of the jurisdiction of Massachusetts was also pronounced against her, as being "unfit for their community;" and on her remarking, "I wish to know why I am banished?" Winthrop answered characteristically, "Be quiet—the court knows why, and that is enough."

It was the beginning of winter, and because the church had still to resolve upon the case of the sinner, she was allowed to remain till spring, but still as a prisoner in the house of a member of the church from Roxburgh, where the clergy could work upon her at their own pleasure. Cotton, who was really her friend, and Davenport, another celebrated puritan preacher just come from England, gave themselves the greatest trouble to convince her of her errors. She was also condemned to a sort of recantation; but when this was laid before her she declared that she had never maintained anything else. She involved herself in many contradictions (doubtless because she did not understand herself), until Cotton also gave her up, and she was unanimously excommunicated as an acknowledged liar by the same church which, six months before, had honoured her as an oracle inspired by God. Probably her friends had already withdrawn from the affair. Her husband and many heads of the party were on a journey

to seek out another place of refuge ; Wheelwright went with his wife to Piscataqua, bought, with some of his comrades who followed him thither out of his former community, a piece of land in Braintree from the Indians and founded the town of Exeter. Seven years after, he declared to the government his repentance for the vehemence and the defiance with which he fought for his opinions against them, without however recanting. But yet by the Christian love and humility which were apparent in his letter, he succeeded in appeasing the severe fathers of Massachusetts, and the ban which expelled him from their territory was removed.

1644 But in Boston, during the sitting of the court relative to the decree of condemnation, such great discontent had arisen, that the authorities believed they could only secure peace by the most severe measures. It was accordingly ordered that all who had deliberately signed that petition, and would not penitently acknowledge their fault, should, without delay, deliver up their weapons. They were fifty-eight in number, many of them from the most respectable families in Boston ; eighteen came from other townships. The reason given for this was, that "they could easily, on any evident proofs, make a sudden attack upon those who were of a different opinion from them." The buying in again of weapons, without the express permission of government, was also forbidden. The ringleaders were deprived not only of their weapons, but also of their civic rights ; the loudest were expelled the country ; the country town Roxburgh was charged with the safe custody of Mrs. Hutchinson till the time of her banishment. Many of

the discontented followed her into exile, where no constraint was laid upon their conscience.

Before this party was thus dissolved, many of its members endeavoured to move the elders to call Winthrop, as member of the church, to account for what he had done as one of the authorities. Winthrop heard of this, and stood forward, proving, with the good clear sense which was peculiar to him, that the church had only power over him as a private man, not as one in authority. Yet he did not disdain, as a brother, to explain to the brethren the reasons for his method of proceeding, and to illustrate every one of them by an example out of the holy writing. "They must go forth from us," he concluded, "the public peace would not suffer them any longer among us. After the example of Lot in Abraham's family, like Hagar and Ishmael they must be sent away."

After the chiefs of the malcontent party had removed, the excited were soon reconciled to him, and in the two following years he was again elected governor by a majority of voices. Those who had worked against him in the third year were the clergy, not out of dislike to him, but out of fear that his so often filling the high office of honour might lead to a governor for life, which some had proposed in order to follow the example of Israel. In 1638, when the governor, by a trick of his faithless steward in England, suffered the loss of a great part of his fortune, the church of Boston gave him an especial proof of her love and respect, by making him voluntarily a present of £200. The peace of this church was thus maintained undisturbed for many years, until the defying intrusion of the Quakers sought to shake it, and

the corrective power of the others overstepped all bounds.

But the hangers-on of the Antinomist party felt that they could not remain any longer in Boston. The husband of Anna Hutchinson a man of mild disposition but weak understanding (who, to his honour be it said, declared that the bond which tied him to his wife was more powerful than that which held him to the church), had, in conjunction with William Cobbington, John Clark, and other head men of the Antinomist party, gone on a journey to look after a new place of settlement; this was before excommunication had been pronounced against the offender. Their principal point in view was Long Island, or perhaps Delaware. But on landing in Providence Island, Roger Williams received them hospitably, and roused in them the idea of settling in his vicinity. They enquired carefully what part of the Narragansett land was embraced in the Plymouth patent, and gave up a plantation in Sowams, when the latter claimed it, as being "the real garden of their territory, nay, the real flower of their garden." On the other hand they declared, in express terms, that they had no right whatever to the islands in Narragansett Bay. By the mediation of Roger Williams, who, always ready with his help, had also made the journey with Clark to Plymouth, they succeeded in getting, from Canonicus and Miantenomo, Aquidneck, the finest of the islands, a spot of land not three German miles long, and scarcely one at its greatest breadth, but blessed by nature with beauty and fruitfulness. "The Indian princes," says Williams, "are rather shy about selling their land." They preferred making a present of it to the banished English,

out of love and esteem for Roger Williams and Henry Vane, whom Miantonomo had seen in Boston. But when an Indian makes a present, he expects for it a present of at least double the value ; and this was given them by the settlers (who were mostly people well to do) in clothes, implements, and tools. Besides, this they had to satisfy the claims of the Indians who lived in scattered wigwams about Aquidneck, in order to induce them to move away, so that his land was the dearest on which the English had as yet settled. The buyers, eighteen in number, now united themselves into one state body, and borrowed, after the taste of the times and persons, the form of the common weal from the Jews. Coddington was elected ruler in the new Israel, but he was not long permitted to use his authority alone ; for, after a few months, it was found good to appoint him three companions.

In the mean time settlers came from all parts, attracted by the blooming land and the spiritual freedom ; for, like the neighbouring Providence, this colony was also formed on a complete freedom of conscience. The growing number of the burghers, who had in a short time increased to two hundred families, made a more decided form of government necessary, and one was founded on the same basis, and at the same time declared to be a complete democracy, in which 1641 all power, as well to make laws as to install an authority, was centred in the citizens legally assembled. The judge now became a governor, to whom were accorded a vice-governor and four assistants, two out of each of the two settlements which had in the mean time sprung up, Portsmouth in the north, and Newport in the south of

the island. All were subjected to a yearly choice ; but this fell, in unison with that in Providence, invariably on the same six men, and Coddington was each year again elevated to the highest dignity. In severe contrast to the superior powers of Massachusetts, there ruled here the greatest mildness. A sheaf of arrows was the state seal, and the motto chosen for it was, "*Amor vincit omnia.*"

For a long time both communities had no established clergymen. John Clark, a physician by profession, and at a later period founder of the first baptist church in America, preached for them ; and besides him, any one who was moved by the spirit, which sometimes no doubt produced strange exhibitions of eloquence. Anna Hutchinson had here free play for all her divine private revelations, and was able to give full scope to her fruitful enthusiasm. In the summer of 1638, an unusual phenomenon set all New England in commotion—to wit, an earthquake, which was violent enough to shake the houses on the ground and the ships in the harbour. At this very hour Mrs. Hutchinson was occupied in prayer with her "blessed" community ; and when the thunder pealed from the blue vaults of heaven, and the walls of the building began to shake, she no longer doubted that the Holy Ghost was descending direct upon her, to initiate the new apostles into converting the sinful world. With malicious laughter the strict legalists of Massachusetts, whose sober sense certainly preserved them from such errors, remarked this and similar frenzies. They were ceaselessly occupied in pointing out the unavoidable results of the religious principles of the Antinomists in the natural troubles of a yet unordered state. Nay,

when the poor woman at last died by a horrible death, in no way attributable to these matters, they wished, with detestable self-congratulation, to find in that a just punishment of God for the falling away of a high-spirited heretic from their pure church.

When, some years after, her husband's death took place, the poor woman saw that she was no longer secure in the neighbourhood of Massachusetts and its irritated church. She had but too clear proofs of their unappeasable thirst for revenge. Two fiery young men, persecuted for their religious opinions, had come from Barbadoes but a short time before, and had joined themselves to her, after having, during a visit to Aquidneck, experienced the power of her eloquence, and one of them had married her daughter. Her son Francis, who at his urgent request had not been dismissed from the church of Boston, thought that, after years had
1641
cooled down men's passions, these two young men might venture to visit Boston, but they had scarcely landed when they were summoned before the court, and, on refusal to come, were carried thither by a constable. The crime of Collins consisted in a private letter to one of their members, which was laid before the governor, wherein he had called the church and the preachers of Massachusetts anti-christian, and had spoken with contempt of their government. Francis Hutchinson had, according to the rude allegory of the time, apostrophized the church of Boston as a *whore*! Neither of them denied the transgression, and they were accordingly detained in prison, till the one paid £50, and the other £100 penalty; a sum which was confessedly only made so high to keep them from doing mischief, as this family

had already cost the common weal so much for expenses for the synod, &c. The prisoners, however, refused to pay anything at all, although the sum was at last brought down to less than half, so that the authorities were glad to let them go free on their own security, but with the intimation not to let themselves be seen within the territory of Massachusetts, under pain of death. They had just as resolutely refused to visit the church during their imprisonment; but here power assisted, and the constable was obliged to lead them thither.

This necessarily convinced the injured woman that her persecutors were not appeased; and could she here have cast a prophetic look into the future, and have seen the fate of the unlucky Gordon, she would no longer have had any doubt. Massachusetts began already to stretch its hand greedily towards certain pieces of the Narragansett land, might it not also reach to the

1642 asylum of her island? She resolved therefore, after the death of her husband, to put herself under the protection of the Dutch, and settled once more in Manhattan, not far from the borders of the Newhaven districts with her people, accompanied by several English families. But here the Indians, exasperated by the severity of Kieft, the Dutch governor, fell on the peaceable settlers, and slew the unlucky woman, her son-in-law Collins, and all her household

1643 companions, in all sixteen persons. Only a young daughter was carried away captive.* The other sons continued the race to posterity.

* The Indians acted in this affair with the most rascally treachery. Some of them came, apparently on business, to her house, and begged of her to let them bind the dogs that threatened to bite them; this was no sooner done than they fell murderously on the unprotected family.

CHAPTER XIII.

FOUNDING OF CONNECTICUT.—WAR WITH THE INDIANS.
—NEWHAVEN BEGUN.—TO 1640.

IN relating these circumstances we have quite outrun time, and must now revert to the ordinary course of matters. The valley of Connecticut had been previously acknowledged to be a possession worthy of securing, and the Earl of Warwick, president of the Society of New England, had in the year 1630 bought in the enormous piece of land which stretches west of Plymouth to the Pacific, and had received a patent for it; but in the following year he had vacated his rights to Lords Say, Seal, and Broke, and their companions.* These peers, who belonged to the opposition, and inclined strongly to the views of the puritans, looking at the increasing discontent with the state of things, thought seriously of removing their families to America. But it will be easily understood that they did not wish to leave their privileges behind them, and the propositions which they had made thereupon to the government of Massachusetts, or rather to their representative, Cotton, could with difficulty have been brought into harmony with the democratic basis on which the edifice of that state

* Perhaps it is worth remarking that Pym and Hampden were among the "associates."

rested. A separate settlement, to which they could give what form they liked, naturally suited their plans better. But before they took steps to bring this into execution, the settlers of Massachusetts had already fixed their eyes upon the land granted to them, and had also soon after wended thither with the "pilgrim's staff."

For it is certain that they had already brought over with them the same restless spirit of movement which in our age characterizes the dwellers of the United States. It seemed as though, when they had once torn themselves away from home, no spot of earth was longer a tie to them; that they were frightened back by no difficulty, and yet only spurred on by a blind desire of apparent improvement. The reason given, the narrowness of ground occasioned by the number of new comers, cannot hold good for those who were already in possession. It ought rather to have occurred to the new comers, who had to shift for themselves, than to those who had already settled there, to leave their scarce-gained home. As early as 1634, the settlers of Newton, as well as those of Dorchester, began to look about them for other places of abode; the former sent out some of their number in a bark sailing to the Dutch possessions, in order to find a fitting place on the sea board, and also especially to discover the source of the Connecticut, in which they succeeded. The settlers of Watertown had also cast their eyes on the fruitful soil of Connecticut, of which they had heard from our old acquaintance Oldham, who had settled in Massachusetts, and was driving a trade in all directions with the Indians. The result was, that some of the most enterprising set off on their way without further ceremony,

and settled themselves in separate huts on the shores of the river, nearly in the spot where Wethersfield now stands. That they did not fear the Indians of Connecticut was perhaps owing to the conviction, that they were welcome guests to, at least, some of the race. The settlers of Plymouth had already been invited by a chief of the neighbouring region of Wahquimacut, to settle there, and as they did not at once prepare to do so, an invitation was sent to those of Massachusetts; a request which arose from their wish to have the protection of the powerful whites against their neighbours, the Pequodees. Both colonies were at that time too much occupied with other things to accept the proposal. They of Plymouth had already had their attention directed by their friends the Dutch to the advantages of a settlement on the "Fresh River," as they called the Connecticut. They therefore, after having contented themselves for two years with sending barks at intervals thither, projected a plan for establishing a house of commerce there, and asked the settlers of Massachusetts to join them, when, being somewhat contemptuously rejected, they resolved to undertake it single-handed.

All the ready materials for a house were therefore conveyed on board a ship, and sent with some picked men to Connecticut; but the Dutch no sooner heard of these preparations, than, full of chagrin at having shown the way to their rivals, they also sent some men up the river, who, about forty miles from its mouth, just where Hartford, the chief town of Connecticut, now stands, rapidly constructed a light fort and planted it with cannon: when the bark arrived from

Plymouth, the Dutch forbade them to proceed up the river, and threatened, in case of persistence, to fire upon them. But William Holmes, the leader of the men, bade them proceed immediately on their way. The Dutch did not fire, and the settlers landed some miles northwards, where they ran up their house on the opposite shore and fortified it. The place was called Nattawanute by the Indians; the land around it belonged to a race of Mohawks expelled by the Pequodees, who now, by the help of the English and the sale of their patch of land to these latter, came again into possession of their property. Between the injured Dutch and the hostile Pequodees, the little band of Englishmen were in a very critical position; but yet no decisive step was taken against them, except that the next year the Dutch also sent men to buy up the land lying near their building house.

In the autumn of 1635, an important part of the community of Dorchester wandered forth once more, and, after an indescribably painful pilgrimage through the wilderness, settled close to the trading house of the Plymouthers on land bought by the latter, not knowing that they were thereby injuring them, for they had themselves the year before bought the land from the Indians, and held them to be the only real possessors. The Plymouthers did not omit to protest against this, but at last waived their claim for a consideration of £50, and the reserve of a considerable portion of land.

Thus was founded Windsor, one of the most blooming little towns in Connecticut. They were followed in a short time by some of the community of Watertown, who settled higher up the river, not far from those who

arrived first, in what is now Wethersfield. Now only begins the history of this settlement, for the attempt of former years belongs to tradition. Between these two little townships, where the so-called "little river" falls into the Connecticut, and in the immediate neighbourhood of the Dutch fort, settled some of those from Newtown, in the hope of being soon followed by their brethren.

The number of these first planters of Connecticut amounted to several hundreds, an influential part of them consisting of families of rank and education. Among them were Ludlow, and one of the assistants from the colony of Massachusetts, who, with the others, had, within the short space of five years, endured for the second time the most fearful privations and horrors, in order to gain a new settlement in the wilderness. The first winter was an unspeakably severe test; they had lost the summer in their preparations, and the middle of October arrived before they were ready to start. They had placed their house implements in the ships which went round Cape Cod, and were to reach them by coming up the Connecticut; these were driven back by the harvest storms, and either arrived in spring or foundered. Ere mid-winter, the greater part of their live stock, with which they had come so plentifully provided, had perished, so that they estimated their loss in this matter alone at £200. Provisions failed, and they were fain to satisfy their hunger with acorns. Some of them grew disheartened and went back to Boston, through the fearful wilderness. Others wished to go and meet the ship, but luckily found at the mouth of the river a vessel from Boston,

of which they gladly took advantage. Some, again, set sail in an open bark on the Connecticut, but were thrown on the sea coast, and worked their way through the wood and swamp to Plymouth: the greater part, full of hope, remained and waited for a better time and a meeting with their friends.

1636 So in the following spring almost all the community, about a hundred persons in number, issued forth from Newtown, with Hooker their celebrated preacher at their head. Many traces of their laborious wanderings have been preserved; they were surrounded by a thick wood, inhabited by the smaller beasts of prey, as wolves, foxes, wild cats, &c., but principally by the moose deer and many kinds of snakes; the grass, as now-a-days in the American prairies, being as high as a man; their highway was the Indian foot-path, the compass their only guide. Hooker's wife was carried on a litter. The most of the others went on foot, with their travelling bundles under their arms. Fourteen nights long the free heavens were their roof; their pillows the stones they found in the fields; they took with them one hundred and sixty head of cattle, and the milk of the cows was the chief nourishment of the wanderers; whilst they slowly and painfully travelled on their way, they sang psalms and hymns, and at every halt offered up loud prayers to heaven. The Indians, close to whose doors they often passed, gazed at them in silent amazement. For Connecticut was not like the eastern parts of New England, desolated by plague; on the contrary, it was thickly peopled by the most warlike races in the land, who, however, allowed the wanderers to go on unmolested; and they passed

along without fear, for they knew on whom they relied, and had moreover clear consciences, not wishing to claim one foot of land not acquired by fair barter.

The community of Newtown had to battle hard before the government would let them go. Many families of wealth and standing belonged to it, whom the young community of Massachusetts was very unwilling to spare. But Hooker, himself the light of the western church, enjoyed as preacher a reputation with which only that of Cotton could vie. His emigration at the same time and in the same ship with Cotton had lighted up the gloomy wilderness to many a zealous puritan. His eloquence was, in comparison with Cotton's, which convinced and carried away, of that powerful kind which impelled a somewhat later theological historian to liken him to Luther, and to give him the name of a "son of thunder." Such a man was a host. And, as a want of room for their flocks was the plea put forward for going away, the government sought at first to retain them by the most advantageous concessions, which, however, only availed for a time. It was impossible not to see that the cause lay deeper. Some have attempted to explain their decision by supposing a secret jealousy of Hooker against Cotton, whose influence had, immediately before the Antinomistic strife, reached its highest point. But no proof of this exists. It is probable that the basis of the new state which the community of Newtown found already laid did not exactly suit their views, and that they desired to plant one in accordance with their own ideas; besides which, they were attracted by the fame of the blooming plains of Connecticut. So intimately entwined were their clerical interests with those of their

brethren of Massachusetts, that they did not wish to start without their consent and that of the general assembly, although the government had not forbidden it, not being able by any means to agree among themselves whether they should forbid or grant. The majority of the magistrates were against, the majority of the deputies for, the departure, till at last the obstinacy of the community conquered all obstacles. Haynes, one of the most respectable men of the colony, and even then as governor at the head of it, joined the emigrants.

Almost at the very time of the earliest attempts at planting Connecticut, the English noblemen who had procured themselves a patent for this part of the land had also formed a plan for settling a colony there. Sir Richard Saltonstall, one of them, who, it seems, full of displeasure at the hierarchical despotic spirit of the government of Massachusetts, had withdrawn his interest from this colony though his son still lived and worked in it, sent off twenty of his people in a vessel from England in order to take possession of a part of Connecticut. Immediately after, young Winthrop
1635 returned to New England with a commission from the Lords Say and Seal, Brooke and other noble persons, to plant a settlement in Connecticut, and a fortress at the mouth of the river of which he was made governor. At the very same time came Sir Henry Vane with the commission of the same lords to buy them out; for it had become known, in the meantime, in England, that the Massachussetters had commenced making settlements. The lords wished the colony well, and were neither disposed to hinder them, nor do they for a moment appear to have laid any stress on their

American plans. The high council of England had also been dissolved, and by its self-empowered division one half of Connecticut had fallen to the Marquis of Hamilton, without any of the above-mentioned noblemen having on that account given up their claims. Small settlements were made in their names at the mouth of the river, and in the autumn of the same year 1636 a fortress was built by the younger Winthrop, which he called Saybrooke, after Say and Brooke, two of the most influential patenters.

The Newtown settlers had gone to Connecticut with a sort of full authorization from the government of Massachusetts. A commission was formed of eight freemen of this colony, at the head of whom stood Ludlow. For although it must be acknowledged that Connecticut was not included in their patent, yet they believed that, in order to regulate the beginning, proper credentials of a higher kind, whether well authenticated or not, would be useful, if not indispensable. This commission held good for a single year, in which time they were justified in expecting that they would come to a good understanding respecting its constitution and administration with the noblemen, who were regarded as the legitimate possessors. The three different settlements, Pauquiaug, Mattaneaue and Suckiaug, were at first called by the settlers, after the deserted places, Watertown, Dorchester, and Newtown, but soon obtained others which they still bear, viz. Wethersfield, Windsor, and Hartfield, names which we shall for the future use, in order to avoid confusion ; in the history of these times they are only called the three river towns. These

1635 three townships to which, in the autumn, another was added from Roxburgh—now called Springfield, and two years after claimed by Massachusetts as belonging to her territory—without delay formed a commonwealth, and held courts and administered justice at the different places alternately. When the commission expired, each township chose two magistrates, in whom reposed all authority. For the burghers or freemen had at first so much to do with building, planting and carrying arms, that they did not covet any share in the administration. General assemblies were only held on extraordinary occasions, and affairs of justice were decided by juries. Thus it lasted about 1639 three years until they took on a constitution, in possession of which they remained up to the time when Charles II., by an extraordinary favour, granted them high privileges, and this constitution remains, in spite of all alteration of circumstances, the same in all material points.

But ere the settlers of Connecticut could think about establishing their civic constitution, and enjoying the advantages it was to give them, they were reminded of being strangers in their new home, and of the necessity of holding themselves ready to defend it with their heart's blood. The settlers of Plymouth had entered upon a deserted land. To those of Massachusetts a certain degree of safety was assured by their superior strength, as to those among the Narragansetts by the friendly disposition of the natives. But the settlement in Connecticut was thickly surrounded by hardy, hostile races, and their only safety lay in the mutual hatred these cherished against each other, and which tended to

their extirpation. In the west of Narragansetts, about twelve miles south-east from the mouth of Connecticut, at the entrance to the sound of Long Island, dwelt the Pequodees, the heroes of the land, hated and feared by the other tribes; they could bring at least seven hundred warriors into the field, and their chief Sassacus had, as common with the Indian chiefs, innumerable chiefs under him, who yielded him a conditional obedience. It was the desire of rule of the warlike Pequodees, which, some years before, compelled the minor chiefs of Connecticut to seek protection from the white strangers by inviting them to settle there. The Narragansetts alone were able to hold the balance against their powerful neighbours, and a dreaded rival to Sassacus had sprung up in the young Miantonomo, nephew of Canonicus, whom the latter had taken to him as co-ruler, or for whom, according to others, he had only ruled as guardian.

Now, in the year 1634, two men of Virginia, Captains Stope and Norton, who had lived some time in Massachusetts, and then gone on trading business in a bark to Connecticut, were, with their attendants, barbarously murdered by the natives. And though the Pequodees sought to buy themselves out of the matter, and sent messengers with presents to Boston, who closed a treaty of friendship and peace, yet a strong suspicion remained about them. Two years after, the whole colony was roused; John Oldham, while on one of his trading journeys, met with the same fate, being assassinated while sleeping in his bark by Indians, with whom he had but an hour before been chatting in a friendly manner about business. The murder, it is true, did not take place among the Pequodees, but on a small island

belonging to the Narragansetts, called Block Island; but the Narragansetts denied all knowledge whatever of it, and the murderers fled to the Pequodees, by whom they were sheltered. A troop of eighty or ninety men was forthwith sent off to Block Island, under the command of Endecott; the natives tried in vain to oppose their landing, and after a short fight fled and hid themselves in the woods. The English shot at random into the thickets, and spent two days in devastating the whole island, burning the huts, about sixty in number, wasting the fields, and breaking the boats, without seeing a living being. Hereupon they sailed to the country of the Pequodees, in order, in accordance with their commission, to insist upon the murderers being given up, but on other points to offer them peace. But they were not to be found; all fled to the forests and marshes, whither the English could not follow them. A few huts were burnt down, but only a petty number of Indians killed and wounded; and Endecott returned to Salem without having lost a single man, but yet without having performed any thing.

This fruitless expedition entailed blame on him, and brought down on the government of Massachusetts reproaches from Plymouth and Connecticut, the Pequodees having by it been rendered rather bolder than otherwise. Lion Gardiner, the commander of Saybrooke, complained that by such useless exasperation "this wasps' nest" had first been brought about his ears. The river towns trembled at their nightly attacks. For a long time they had not been able to hold their church meetings unarmed, and watches were set on every side. But now they were, after the base manner

of the Indians, constantly attacked in the more lonely plantations, especially when the men were at work in the distant fields; the wives and daughters, whom the tomahawks spared, were dragged away to captivity. Thus, in a short time, thirty whites had fallen victims to their fury. Under all these dangers, however, the settlers in Connecticut had, in the course of the summer, grown so wonderfully, that at the end of the year 1636 they could number two hundred and fifty fighting men; the sum total of the white inhabitants of Connecticut at this date is given at eight hundred persons, or one hundred and sixty to one hundred and seventy families. Such a community could afford to think about more active interference. A general assembly 1636 was forthwith convened, consisting of the regular authorities and three deputies from each colony. War was the cry, and not a single voice was raised against it; the plantations pledging themselves to bring ninety men into the field. Hartford, the largest of them, offered nearly half of this number. In the meantime, messengers were sent to Massachusetts and Plymouth, and by both aid in proportion was promised, Massachusetts giving two hundred, and Plymouth forty. But the latter only entered reluctantly into the plan, for they considered themselves injured in their claims by Connecticut, and their poverty made every war a double exertion; the fight was finished before their men were ready to march.

Massachusetts, though at this time torn by the Antinomistic strife, was neither wanting in activity nor in watchfulness. The Pequodees endeavoured to move the Narragansetts, though from the most distant times their enemies, to an offensive and defensive alliance against

the English, whom they represented to them as a common enemy, and with prophetic spirit sought to depict as the final destroyer of the red man. The Narragansetts were the mightiest race far and near; one could not go twenty miles without coming on a dozen townships, and their fighting men amounted to 2000. It was thus naturally of great importance to the English to win them over to their side in the impending war, or at least to keep them neutral.

1636 And now the time came for Roger Williams to revenge the heavy injuries he had suffered, which he did by magnanimity and self-devotion. He was the first who informed the Massachussetters of the alliance in view. He alone was the man who could prevent it by using the influence he had acquired over them, through his knowledge of their language and manners, and wisely employing their high esteem for him for the benefit of his countrymen. On the occasion of Oldham's murder, the governor, Sir Henry Vane, had entered into communication with him; and, through the confidence accorded by both parties to his honesty and dexterity, he had succeeded in arranging matters between the Narragansetters and the colony. The government of Massachusetts now applied to him with the request to prevent a general alliance of the Indians against the whites, and forthwith we see him restlessly travelling to and fro, defying storm and billow, in a miserable canoe; at a meeting with the Pequodees showing an undaunted front to the perils of their fury and revenge, and applying all the powers of his eloquence, in their laboriously learnt language, to prevent the dreaded alliance. He succeeded; the Narragansetts,

long uncertain, sacrificed the dictates of a far-sighted sagacity to satisfy their ancient feudal hatred ; they only thought of the near fall of the Pequodees, not of their own more distant ruin. Miantonomo went to Boston, was received with ceremonious marks of honour, and signed a treaty which allied him with the whites against his own people. Neither party was to conclude a peace without the consent of the other ; a copy of the compact was sent to Williams, who, being the only person master of the language, was first of all to make every condition clear to the Narragansetts.

In the spring the troops collected from the
river towns went down the Connecticut to attack 1637
the Pequodees in their own land. They had been joined by the Mohicans, that is the races dwelling in the valley of the Connecticut, of which the most powerful was commanded by Uncas, a chief belonging to the princely race of the Pequodees. The Mohicans seem to have been originally of Pequodee extraction, or even, if they had another family name, still to have been of the same race. The dominion which the Pequodees claimed, and which they had gained by power and artifice, had so embittered all other races against them and their chief, the warlike Sassacus, that the Mohicans, led on by Uncas, joined the English in a body. Their warriors only numbered sixty to seventy, and the English were but little stronger. Their leader was Major John Mason, a doughty officer, who had learnt the trade of war in the Netherlands, under Fairfax ; large and powerfully built, and as a soldier equally sagacious and resolute. He had come with the Dorchester community to New England, and, five years after, had, as their leader, traversed the

wilderness to Connecticut. Amidst loud prayer and calling on the Most High, the commander's staff was given him by Hooker, as a worthy warrior of God. The learned Stone, colleague of Hooker, accompanied the troops as chaplain; for a body of puritanical warriors would have thought themselves badly cared for without such spiritual help.

The instructions of the government of Connecticut made it imperative on Mason to land in the harbour of Pequod, now Newhaven, and thus to attack the Indians in their own land. But when Mason observed that the natural strength of this place was increased by the heightened watchfulness of the Indians who awaited him here, he resolved to pass by to the harbour in Narragansett Bay, and, after having strengthened his forces with the warriors promised by Miantonomo, to attack the Pequodees from there. And now we come to a feature in the history of this war, which is too characteristic of the time and the actors in it to be omitted. The officers under him were dissatisfied with this alteration in the plan of war, and referred to the instruction. Thereupon it was resolved to refer the question to the clergyman Stone, who was "to bring down by prayer the responsive decision of the Lord." Stone lay almost the whole night in prayer before the Lord, imploring for wisdom to decide the matter, and next morning declared to the officers that the view taken by their leader was the most proper, whereupon all submitted without a murmur!

Before starting, all the least useful to the troops were sent back to Hartford, and replaced by part of the Saybrook garrison, which had been previously sent thither

from Boston, commanded by Captain Underhill. Miantonomo was startled at their small number, but added two hundred of his warriors, and they were soon after joined by the Nahantikes, also a race of Narragansetts, but not dependent on them. Other allied tribes soon joined them on their way, so that the number of the Indian auxiliaries amounted to about 500. Putting but little confidence in them, Mason would gladly have awaited the arrival of the forty men from Massachusetts, who were already in Providence, and preparing to join him. But his men were impatient for the fight; and the Indians sneered at his delay, boasting incessantly what deeds they had done, and would yet do, and insisting that delay could only be favourable to the Pequodees.

The great strength of this nation was distributed into two forts, in one of which Sassacus himself commanded; the other was situated on the Mystic, an unimportant river, which flows parallel with the Thames and the Connecticut. Such an Indian castle consisted of high palisades, mostly planted on a height, ample enough to admit a considerable number of wigwams for the whiteheads, women and children. These two fortresses were the pride of the Pequodees; they held them to be impregnable, and the other Indians seem to have been of the same opinion; for when they saw Mason making straight towards the nearest castle on the Mystic, quite at variance with the Indian science of war, which only consists of secret attacks, shooting from loop-holes, or overpowering by masses, their courage sank completely; the very warriors, who only yesterday had boasted of their deeds, cried out; "Sassacus is a god, he is invincible!" and returned in troops to their own

dwellings. Thus the English saw themselves suddenly deserted by a hundred Narragansetts. The others remained, as did the Mohicans; but such was their fear of the Pequodees, that they could only be employed as rear troops.

The Pequodees, when they beheld the English pass by their harbour, fancied they saw a flying foe, and joyfully gave themselves up to a treacherous safety, vaunting in their usual manner with loud cries their deeds and power. The day previous they had had a great take of fish, and this was now made use of to celebrate the departure of the enemy with revel and war dances. They were lying wearied and buried in profound sleep, when, an hour before day-break, the loud barking of a dog called out the watch, who had carelessly gone into the fort to light a pipe, and they, seeing the enemy close upon them, instantly roused up the sleepers with the cry of Owannux! Owannux! (Englishmen! Englishmen!) In the next minute the fort was thickly hemmed in, a second ring being formed at Mason's orders by the Indians. The main entrance was soon forced by shot and sword; the Pequodees fought with the fury of despair, but they had no fire-arms, and they threw themselves into their wigwams in order to defend them to the last gasp. The little band of English was small compared with their troop of hundreds; but Mason, with unheard-of boldness, entered one of the huts, seized a brand from the hearth, and fired the roofs. An Indian was in the act of levelling his arrow at him, when an officer sprang forward and cut the string. With fearful rapidity the conflagration stretched from hut to hut, which, only composed of moss and wood, were in a moment wrapped in flames; the

English withdrew outside the palisades, thickly surrounding the fort, while the Indians behind took courage and approached nearer. The most furious despair now took possession of the souls of the Pequodees; high, amidst the fearful war-cry, resounded the yells of those sinking under this dreadful death; those who scaled the palisades to save themselves, were despatched by the bullets of the English to the realms of death, and those who broke through fell under the war-axes of the Mohicans. In the space of an hour five to six hundred Indians, young and old, men and women, had become the prey of the flames or weapons, only a small number of prisoners falling into the hands of the English. Some few were also carried off by the Indians as prizes. Afterwards, at the division, in one of the settlements in Connecticut, a dispute arose about four women whom both parties claimed, and in order to settle the point these unhappy creatures were butchered; which, however, could not have happened without an order from the authorities. Hutchinson, who wrote in the latter half of the last century, says, with all the coolness possible of this horrible deed: "The wisdom and the morality of this measure might be called in question." Thus, up to a hundred years ago, had the American accustomed himself to regard the life of an Indian.

Only two Englishmen had fallen, but many were wounded. The arrows remaining in the wounds, and the complete want of refreshments left their victims in a sorrowful plight. Their surgeons and provisions had been left in the boats, and a march of more than six miles through a hostile land was necessary to reach

them; the wounded were accordingly sent on in litters. They were still pretty near the destroyed fort when a band of more than three hundred Pequodees came on, sent by Sassacus to aid those in Fort Mystic. Notwithstanding the small number of the English, who had dwindled down to forty sound men, the Indians avoided them, not knowing what had happened. But when they came to the scene of the fire, strewn with hundreds of mangled corpses, they were seized with the most frantic rage. They howled, stamped, tore their hair, and filled the air with that peculiar and fearful yell, at the sound of which the boldest heart might quake. Then with wild fury they tore down the hill after the English, whose rear was brought up by Underhill. He received them with a shower of shot. Amidst a constant fight, the English safely reached their vessels, and arrived victors in Hartford, three weeks after their departure.

Sassacus, against whom his own warriors, disgusted with his haughtiness, had rebelled, saw that he was overcome. He himself destroyed his other castle, and, laden with his treasures and accompanied by his principal chiefs, took his way to the Hudson in order to join the Mohawks. Meanwhile the Massachusetts troops, led by Captain Israel Houghton, and accompanied by Wilson as their spiritual pastor, had landed in Saybrook, just as the news of the happily ended campaign arrived there. The government had not considered it necessary to send the whole of the troops promised. This number, along with a small band from Connecticut, was more than enough to keep down or annihilate the few Pequodees or other races of the neighbourhood who

showed themselves here and there. The Pequodees were chased into their most secret haunts, all their huts burnt, and their fields ravaged. Their foes, greedily taking advantage of the victory of the whites, now persecuted with ruthless cruelty those whom they had once dreaded; and yet the leader of the troops of Massachusetts surpassed them, though a member of the church of Boston, and if not acting under the orders of the Christian fathers of Massachusetts, yet certainly not censured by them for it. For once, when he had made about a hundred prisoners, he sent the wives and children into servitude at Boston, while the men, thirty-seven in number, were carried in a shallop out to sea, and on being brought outside the harbour were bound hand and foot and thrown overboard. A learned theologist of the following age, who was of the opinion that "Heaven had smiled on the English hunt," says, with horrible levity "that it was found to be the quickest way to feed the fishes with them."

The other races were pardoned, but the Pequodees, who fought like heroes to the last, were extirpated as a people from the very face of the earth. Not even the name was suffered to remain. The noble river, which had been so called, was named the Thames; the township, on the ruins of which arose an English settlement, was afterwards called New London. The English sold a number of boys as slaves to Bermuda, and many of the women were handed over to perpetual servitude among the settlers. Sassacus was slain by the Mohawks, attracted by the treasures he had brought with him, and his heart was sent as a trophy to Connecticut.

The land of the Pequodees, though a conquered ter-

ritory, was given to Uncas, who had shown himself a true ally; for the settlers remained true to their principle of procuring by purchase all land on which they wished to settle, and a great portion of that given to Uncas was afterwards bought up by planters or by the government from him or his Sachems, until in this manner and by friendly contracts they had become possessors of the whole.* The Pequodees soon assembled again in a distant part of the country, and Mason had to make another campaign in order to scatter these unhappy creatures. But their might was broken; fear of the powerful whites spread through all the red races; and the settlers of Connecticut, by conquering the most powerful of them, had ensured themselves a peace of forty years' duration.

They could now till their land in peace, and think about perfecting their civic constitution. Up to this time their complete independence of Massachusetts had been acknowledged, but not asserted. But now the three river towns joined in one, and declared themselves a self-existent community. On the 16th of January, 1638, thirty-nine of the freemen, that is all the heads of families in the colony, met at Hartford, and bound themselves to receive a constitution, which, on account of the complete equality of all concerned in it, is even now considered as a sort of ideal by all pure democrats. The burghership is neither dependent upon church nor property. Every grown-up honest man became a free-man on giving the oath of allegiance. A governor and

* In 1684, Uncas abdicated all his uncultivated lands in Connecticut. As usual, the medium of purchase consisted of hooks, knives, garments, &c.

six assistants, of whom one was vice-governor, were elected yearly; the governor never two succeeding years. A chamber, to which each of the river towns sent four deputies, and all the river towns in proportion, constituted the official corps for the administration of justice, and met yearly in two general courts. In other respects, each township managed its own affairs. Haynes, who had already filled the highest offices in Massachusetts, was unanimously elected the first governor. All officers served without salary, till in 1646, £30 were granted to the governor for his extraordinary expenses.

While Connecticut thus developed itself in the centre, its south-western districts were taken possession of by another set of planters, and colonized with an expenditure of means which allowed them to compete with the elder colonies. At this time, when the Antinomistic strife had reached its culminating point, two large ships landed in Boston with a number of families from London and the neighbourhood, among whom were many rich merchants, especially Theophilus Caton and Edward Hopkins. The former had once belonged to the chief undertakers of the planting of Massachusetts; but his plans for emigration not being then ripe, he had withdrawn on the occasion of the "*quo warranto*" being introduced, contrary to the charter. But the chief ornament of this set of emigrants was their preacher, Davenport, one of the most renowned puritanical clergymen in England, who, like the others, had been driven forth by the ever-growing religious oppression at home. He, like Caton, had contributed very largely towards the expenses of the charter of Massachusetts. In vain was every attempt made to

keep them in Boston and persuade them to settle in the neighbourhood. The commonweal of Massachusetts, torn inwardly as they found it, could not attract them. Moreover here, where they already found the first places occupied, they must have been content with the second; and then, apart from this, they seem from the very beginning to have been resolved to create their own state after the pattern of that in the Old Testament. With this view they had cast their eyes on the lands between the Hudson and the Connecticut, which, touching the sea, promised well for commerce.

Accordingly, in the same harvest, Caton went there and bought some land in Quinnipiack where he found a good haven, and having erected a hut, left some of his men behind. They were followed next year by the others, and on the 18th of April celebrated their first Sabbath in the new home, where Davenport preached to the assembled devotional crowd under a mighty oak, at this early date not garnished by a single leaf. The elders and great men sat in a circle near him; the younger and less influential at a respectful distance. The land around them, still bare and unshorn of its winter clothing, looked like some wilderness; which, perhaps, led Davenport to give the text from Matthew, on the temptation in the wilderness, in order to warn his God-fearing auditors against falling into that temptation which threatened them.

The first step which the settlers had now to take was to form themselves into a covenant, not without having previously prepared themselves by a day of fasting and penitence. This they called their "plantation covenant," and by it they pledged themselves to submit

to the precepts of the Holy Scriptures in civic as in spiritual matters. Time was necessary to project a real complete constitution ; for the present they were content to stand by that which, according to arrangement, was to be the lasting basis for it. In the mean time, trading contracts and alliances were concluded without delay with the Indians, who cheerfully abdicated considerable districts to the new-comers, in return for good payment and the protection of the mighty whites against their hostile neighbours. Upon these lands, close to the Quinnipiack, and near the sea, a town was founded on a regular plan, and called Newhaven, the first place in America built in this way. The first towns grew up as necessity called them forth ; the wealth of the new settlers allowed them to command greater means at once. Moreover, they did not contemplate, like those who preceded them, a system of tilling ; they rather aimed at a commercial colony. This soon received an important increase in another large ship from London, which brought over the friends they had left behind ; and before the year 1639 had passed away, the colony of Quinnipiack could already count several subordinate plantations, of which some soon grew up to be flourishing villages.

On this account also they felt the want of a civic constitution ; they had no royal privileges, no rights purchased by an influential company to rest upon ; and thus a firm covenant, in order to hold them together, was the more needful. With confidence they committed the formation of a constitution to Davenport, whom they regarded as the wisest and most God-fearing. In the middle of the summer of 1639, all the members of the

church assembled in a large barn, and agreed that the Scriptures offered the most complete model of a state; that a firm attachment to it could alone secure them and their successors peace and legal order; and that the members of their church should alone be free burgesses of their state. A committee of twelve was named, who were to choose from their number seven, "the seven pillars of the house of wisdom," and who were to found at the same time church and state. Unlimited power to order and arrange every thing was for a time granted to these seven, among whom Davenport and Caton were spokesmen. A governor and four assistants were chosen; the freemen, that is the elect of God, were alone to be the electors, and were to assemble yearly; the Bible was their statute book.* As there is no mention made in it of trial by jury, they renounced this, always considered by the Anglo-Saxons as their fairest right—the right to be tried by their equals. The governor was head judge. In each settlement arose a house of wisdom with seven pillars, by whom the authorities were installed.

The most severe exclusive puritanism had not set its seal so broadly on any of the American settlements. But these fetters were imposed by their own free will; only one voice was raised against the narrow-mindedness of this constitution; it was that of the clergyman, Samuel Caton, brother of Theophilus. But one voice

* As we have previously seen, all books of law and other civic regulations were, so far as the clergy could bring it, founded on the law of Moses. The German reformers were of a different opinion, and Melancthon expressly says that Christ has left political institutions to human wisdom.

could not be heard against the three hundred who signed the document, and to whom fifty more were soon added. Theophilus was chosen governor, and for eighteen years in succession the choice fell on this upright man. The hierarch Davenport inaugurated him with the words of Moses to Israel, which paint in the clearest colours the spirit in which this colony was planted: "Ye shall hear the small as well as the great. Ye shall not be afraid of the face of man, for the judgment is God's; and the cause that is too hard for you, bring it unto me and I will hear it." And thus, in the colony of Newhaven, the church, the organ of God, was installed as the sole arbitress, not only through the piety of those in power, but as one of its immovable foundations, by which those who built upon it dreamed they were nearer the Almighty. It was therein meant to be clearly pronounced that the church was not there on account of the state, but the state on account of the church; and though the state passed into complete democracy, it was only because the constitution of the puritanical church was really democratic, so far as this was compatible with theocratic principles.

CHAPTER XIV.

DANGERS FROM ENGLAND.—INTERIOR AFFAIRS.—
CUSTOMS.

WHILST the colony of Massachusetts was thus employed in violently separating all foreign elements, and gaining new allies by planting new settlements similarly disposed, it was fiercely attacked in the mother country; and at last by such rude hands, that it required all the undaunted spirit of the Massachusetts planters to preserve the state intact.

The magnates of England had seen, too late, that they had committed the reins of power to hands as willing as they were able to hold them, and it seemed desirable to extricate them as soon as possible. To this must be added the hateful efforts of their powerful rivals, Sir Ferdinando Gorges and John Mason, both arch-enemies of the colony of Massachusetts, who took every opportunity of sapping its interests. The first shafts, it is true, passed harmlessly aside. In 1633, a petition was handed in, by the above-mentioned men of rank, to the council of state against the tyrannical conduct of the government of Massachusetts, before which Sir Christopher Gardiner, Thomas Morton, and the unhappy Philip Radcliffe had appeared as witnesses, and the mutilated form of the latter could not certainly be seen without

creating a sensation.* Thomas Morton was an angel of discord to the colonies, and a slanderer of the natives; and when he was again inconsiderately brought over by Allerton, the first care of the fathers of Massachusetts was to get him out of the country, especially as they aimed at satisfying the Indians. His attachment to the king and high church was now alleged to be the chief reason of this banishment, and every engine was set at work to blacken the men of Massachusetts as rebels, and mockers of the church and bishops. Nevertheless the society had influential friends in England; and the members then there, Humphrey Cradock and Sir Richard Saltonstall, who were summoned before the state council, defended them so well, that, instead of a reproof, an inspiring letter was sent by the council to the governor, which declared all the complaints against them to be mere misunderstandings, and assured them of the king's especial favour.

But when, soon after this, the complaints were renewed, and accusation after accusation poured in against the colony, and particularly when the increased emigration and the transfer of so much capital began to make the government uneasy, Laud succeeded, by his influence, in setting the king decisively against it. A secure

* It is true that men were pretty much accustomed at that time to such sights in England. In the same year, Prynne, who had composed a tasteless work against masquerades, theatres, &c., was declared to have pasquinaded the queen, who patronized such amusements. For this offence he was condemned by the Star-chamber to stand in the pillory and lose both his ears. A Scotch clergyman, of the name of Leighton, was, some years after, convicted of having written a somewhat coarse work against prelacy. He was branded and mutilated in the most shocking manner, not to mention other ill-treatment which he received.

asylum should no longer be granted to the stiff-necked sectarians, and a command was given "to check the disorderly and promiscuous wandering out to America." No one above the rank of a servant should, for the future, dare to leave England without express permission from the government. A commission for the affairs of America was named, at the head of which stood the Archbishop of Canterbury himself; it was furnished with unlimited powers to inflict punishments, restrict

1634 rights and demand back charters. This commission now ordered Cradock, the first governor of the corporation, and perhaps the only one they would acknowledge, to bring thither the charter and original letter of possession of the colony, in order that they might be laid before the commission. At the same time a well-founded report made its way to New England, that a general governor was to be sent out. But the colonists were resolved. They did not at first reply to the order, and, on a second demand, excused themselves, on the plea that nothing could be done without a general court. On the announcement of a governor-general, the governor of the colony called together, not only his assistants, but also all the preachers of the Bay, as counsellors; their characteristic advice was—"We are bound to defend our possessions, if we are in a position to do so; and if not, to avoid and postpone." In accordance with this, £600 were raised forthwith, and Boston harbour was fortified.

1635 In the mean time errors of many kinds had been spoken of in parliament, and the patent of the society of New England, called also the Council of Plymouth, had likewise been sharply attacked. The

society, having sold all the land between Penobscot and Long Island, and much of it twice or thrice over, was willing to return the patent to the king. Many of their members, among them Sir Ferdinando Gorges, and also some of the richest and highest noblemen of the kingdom, had based on this another speculation. They did not venture to acknowledge, as individuals, the bargain they had made as members of a corporation, but handed into the king a plan by which they divided into twelve parts, and settled among themselves, the immense stretch of land between New Scotland and the Hudson, which were to be received as fiefs and principalities from him, and they agreed to acknowledge a governor, named by him. The charter of Massachusetts they affirmed had been illegally obtained, for the land belonged to Sir Ferdinando Gorges by an earlier letter of possession. The colonists were striving to make themselves independent, and the government was justified in checking them by force.

It is not quite clear whether the king had entered into this plan; but the avarice of the great was sure to be honoured by him, as it was known that he hated the settlers of Massachusetts, and feared their usurpation. The bold, independent position which those in power then maintained towards the mother country, would have naturally awakened the suspicions of a much more moderate and liberal government. The colonists took the oath of allegiance to the government of Massachusetts, not to the king; the official documents were not drawn up in the name of the king, but in that of the general court. What the authorities did not consider proper to announce openly, was soon made clear by the

defiant self-reliance of the citizens. When, in 1637, at a time when the colony was in perpetual fear of a general governor, Lord Ley, son of Earl Marlborough, a modest young man, came on a visit to New England, he was secretly informed that an inhabitant of Boston, of the name of Ewre, had said, "that if the king were to send thither any kind of authority against the charter, he would be the first to oppose it." So momentous were then the relations of the colony to the mother land, that the governor found it advisable to have the matter sifted by a court, in which, however, after hearing witnesses, &c., nothing further could be elicited than that Ewre had said, that if any kind of authority came from England against the charter he would oppose it. Now as it could not be proved that he had thereby alluded to the king, the court declared that he was not punishable for having declared himself ready to oppose any power whatever, sent to overthrow the legal charter granted to the company by the king. Lord Ley was obliged to content himself with this, but his report only confirmed the opinion already taken up in England; for the archbishop was accurately informed by spies of the ruling opinions. One Burdett, who had for a time attached himself to the church of Salem, and then, scared by the discipline there, had withdrawn to Piscataqua, reported that the matter hung no longer on the church, but on the sovereignty, and that it was treason to speak before the court of Massachusetts of appealing to the king. Though this had not been pronounced to be a law in the colony, yet still those in power acted on it, for they denied the right of appeal to Wheelwright and others.

At a later date only, the government declared that they were afraid of losing their authority by the liberty of the condemned to appeal to England, and of involving themselves in endless toil, from the great distance. Laud was personally embittered in the highest degree against the colonists of New England, and enraged at their success. When Edward Win- 1635
slow, who was in England as agent of both colonies, was before the high court of commission in order to enfeeble the renewed complaints of Morton, and seemed by his simple and dignified account to be succeeding, so that the miserable accuser met with a reproof, the archbishop attacked him with the most senseless violence, reproaching him with having, though a layman, arrogated to himself spiritual rights. He had preached and married; and his defence, that he only occasionally, in the absence of a regular preacher, endeavoured to edify the brethren with his gifts, and only married himself as a magistrate, according to the usage in Holland and other countries, was rejected with passionate impatience; and the lords, thanks to the archbishop's passionate urgings, held him in durance more than four months.

The colonists were thus prepared for the strongest measures against them, and could not be surprised when they heard that Sir Ferdinando Gorges had really been named governor of New England. At the same time their minds were strengthened by the growing conviction that they, in their church covenant, belonged to the elect of the Lord. A mighty ship was built to convey the new governor and his suite to America, but had been seemingly entrusted to unskilful workmen, for the moment it was launched it broke to pieces. It may be

easily imagined what an effect this made on men accustomed in every occurrence, even the most unimportant and casual, to recognize the hand of a divine Providence.

They accordingly heard with perfect composure the announcement from their friends in England that, immediately after the society of Plymouth had given in their patent to the king, Sir John Banks, the advocate-general, had brought in a *quo warranto* against the governor and society of Massachusetts. This is an act in the English statutes, by which the government, in certain cases, opposes a right of possession, and is so called from the words heading it.

The members of the corporation appeared in court, and found it advisable to renounce all, and withdraw all their claims. The absent, who could not appear, stood outlawed, but it was never put in force. The unexpected death of Mason, the most open and active enemy of the colony (for Sir F. Gorges sought to cover his counter-working with expressions of good will), seems at this time to have stayed all further steps against them. In the mean time, however, the oppressions in England reached their height, and the wish for a new home increased; the year 1637 again brought more than 3000 settlers. A proclamation of the king ordained that none should be allowed to emigrate without having previously taken the oath of allegiance, and sworn obedience to the church of England. But ways and means were not wanting to elude this; and even those who in England had compulsively bowed to the church, thought themselves in America no longer bound by the oath. Clergymen who had filled offices in England were acknowledged to be the elected of the people, "*in spite of their*

having received consecration from a bishop ; but they humbled themselves for this, and acknowledged their sins."

In May, 1638, a fleet of eight ships, which lay in the Thames ready to sail, was detained by order of the state council ; but on a petition from the proprietors and passengers, the king ordered it to be set at large. It is universally received as an interesting fact, that Hazellrigg, Cromwell, and Hampden, were in one of those ships ; and many a reader has been reminded of the mysterious fatality which prompted the king, by an act of despotism, to retain his most dangerous enemies near him. So far as we know, Cotton Mather was the first to hand down this tradition to posterity, and he probably had it only from report. Neal, Chalmers, and Robertson, and, among the English historians, Rapin, Hume, and countless others, have copied it after him. No contemporary writer mentions it. Not a word about it is to be found in any of the *older* biographies of these three distinguished men, nor can the contradictory circumstances in it be reconciled. Miss Aikin first discovered this error. Bancroft has alleged many reasons against it. The ships really sailed ; if the dangerous men had been on board, they must have arrived like the others.

Some weeks previous, in pursuance of the *quo warranto*, a very decided command of the lords had gone forth to the government of Massachusetts, to send back their patent, as sentence had been pronounced against it, and in case of further delay they were threatened with still severer proceedings. This command, which was sent by a special messenger, could not be ignored, but the assembly was unanimous not to send back the

patent. Instead of this, the governor wrote in their name a letter, "in the form of a petition," which was framed with such decision and wisdom, that it made an impression even on the most stiff-necked heads of the commission. First, they wished to know what was laid to their charge? next, their fair rights to the patent, and their manifold sacrifices were set forth, remarking how it was to be feared, that if they were compelled to leave in this way, the whole plantation would be broken up, and the land fall into the hands of the Dutch or French; and that if their patent was taken from them, the common people would imagine that the king had rejected them, and would then consider themselves freed from all the duties of subjects, and would be ready to take on a new form of government for their necessary maintenance and security, which would be a dangerous example for the other colonies, &c. All that the settlers had most humbly to beg was, that they might be allowed to live in quiet in the wilderness, and that "this poor planting" might not be hindered from growing and flourishing whilst others were favoured, &c.

1639 From the answer which was sent next year, it will be seen that these hints had not remained unnoticed. The lords saw, it was then stated, that a jealous fear for their liberties had taken hold of them, but it was by no means the object of this commission to take these from them, but only to regulate the plantations which were placed under their care. But to this was added, with new threats in case of contumacy, the repeated command to send back the patent by the first ship, with the intimation to continue to govern in the old way until they had a new charter.

But the resolute men at the head of the colony were not to be bought off with promises, and held to their rights with unshakeable firmness. The letter had only been handed in, as enclosed in a letter of Cradock's to his agent, and not tendered officially, so that its reception could not be proved. They therefore resolved to take no notice of it, enjoining the agent in his answer to his master not to mention the matter to him, as he had not commanded him in express terms to deliver it. It is difficult to say what might have been the result of this contempt under other circumstances; enough, that the storm which soon after closed over the heads of the mighty in England compelled them to turn their attention to their own matters; and amidst the general responsibility to which they were soon to be summoned, the colonists were forgotten.

And well might the colonists feel exasperated that any official of the mother country should consider himself authorized to ask by what right they held the land which they had taken possession of, and to deny any right before he had received an answer. All that they possessed, lands, rights, privileges, &c., they had purchased with hard cash, many of them with the sacrifice of their private fortunes; and, unlike the colonists of the south, they had never received the most trifling assistance from the government. Quite independent, as well of the sum which they had at first paid to the high council of Plymouth for the letter of possession, as the gold and valuables with which they had purchased from the Indian chiefs the land on which they settled, the capital they had expended on the transport of men and goods, between the years 1628 and 1630, amounted on a mode.

rate calculation, together with the cattle and provisions till they could support themselves, building materials, ammunition, and weapons, to about £200,000.

As regards their charter, there can be no doubt that they had overstepped it in some points, and in others had filled up the gaps, according to circumstances, so as to fit it for a constitution planned on the spot. But these matters were in part unimportant, or unconnected with the royal government. Above all, the position of the colony to the mother country was so ill-defined, and founded on such obscure ideas, that they might well claim indulgence for not having abode by the strict letter of the law. From the propositions and conduct of Lords Say and Brooke in regard to Connecticut, it is clear that they also held themselves justified in taking on that constitution which best pleased them. For a long time the settlers of Newhaven did not think about procuring themselves a charter, and held that by purchasing the land from the natives they had established their right to settle in the wilderness, and to manage their own matters. The only basis on which, at this time, the doubts and justifications of the Society of Massachusetts could repose was the fact, that their charter was arranged for a corporation which should have its seat in England, and should from thence, like other societies, as the East Indian for instance, manage its own affairs. At the transfer of this corporation to the colonies, some doubt had, as we have before mentioned, arisen respecting the legality of it; but the jurists who were consulted had solved these to the satisfaction of the society. The matter would doubtless have worn quite another look, if this had at once been protested against. But by the

entire silence with which the government saw this transfer, and allowed it to pass for five years unnoticed ; by the assurance of the royal favour ; and finally, by the aid of the state council, the colonists thought themselves fully secured in their rights. That they still fancied they had not withdrawn themselves in their administration from all responsibility to the king and council of state, is shown by the defence which they sent over against the complaints brought in about them. It was the conviction of their complete right which made them now so unshakeably firm.

Amidst all these inward and outward battles, the colony of Massachusetts grew rapidly and steadily ; though the head town advanced slowly, owing to the impulse to press onwards. Even in 1638 it was, according to Josselyn, an English traveller, more like a village than a town ; but that it had, as he states, only twenty to thirty houses must be an error, for its population then amounted from two to three thousand.*

The first meeting-house, which was at the same time employed as town-house and court of justice, soon required to be replaced by another, which was built solely from the proceeds of the weekly collection, and completed in the year 1640. Seven years before this, the lands of the half island, which had not been taken possession of, were divided by seven men elected for the purpose. The tendency of the people had already shown itself in a very striking manner, by the freemen having elected as dividers, people out of the common class (natu-

* It is probable that Josselyn wrote this number, and that a cypher was left out in the printing ; but in the new edition, in the collection of the Historical Society of Massachusetts, the number is not given in Arabic characters, but is written, " twenty or thirty."

rally also freemen, no other being entitled to take any office whatever), who they thought would look more to the poor ; but it is not less characteristic that Cotton, by representing to them that the Lord of the Israelites had commanded always to commit this to the elders, prevailed on them to make another election. At this time a market-place was also formed ; the first merchant's shop and the first inn were established ; to which last a second had been added by Josselyn's time, in consequence of the thronging of strangers thither. But these houses were subjected to the most severe police inspection, licenses being only granted to men of very good name. A stranger had scarcely entered the tap-room before he saw himself followed by an official, who remarked accurately how much he ate and drank, and when it was in his estimation too much, forbade the landlord to give him more. Dancing was forbidden in inns under heavy penalties ; cards and dice even in private families : nay, when the restoration threatened to bring over from England worldly manners and modes of living, the mere possession of the " devil's tools" was punishable ; and by the promise of one-half of the very heavy fines, servants were enticed into eaves-dropping and informing against their masters.

With the same inquisitorial watchfulness with which the authorities allowed no heterodox opinions to spring up, did they look severely after discipline and manners ; and, in companionship with their ally the church, forced a way into the most secret matters of domestic life. In no case did they wait till accusers appeared ; on mere hearsay, offenders were summoned before court, and the slightest suspicion justified an inquisitorial prying into

all family matters, not only on the part of the court, but also of any magistrate. Idleness and useless roving about were severely censured, and a house of correction was built in Boston, before even the first church was finished; a pillory was never wanting, and a whipping-post was a necessary appendage to every church, and was placed not far from the door, as a warning to everybody. Though heavy offences were best punished in this way, they had more difficulty in dealing with their secret foes—vanity and worldliness—which threatened to undermine religion. The stern fathers of Massachusetts soon found it necessary to tax with the severest sumptuary laws the desire for finery which was rapidly gaining ground, and to beg all their pastors to warn the weak daughters of Eve against the precipice; but Winthrop was obliged to confess with a sigh, that the wives of the elders led the van with their bad example. The frequent repetition of these sumptuary laws shows how little they were regarded. The corruption spread incessantly; so that when the dangers which threatened the liberties of the colonists began to gain ground, and the leaders of the land, full of fear of God's threatening anger, endeavoured, in their wiseacre piety, to find out what sins could have raised up this wrath against them, they reckoned, among the eleven causes which they had detected, "extravagance in finery, new strange fashions, naked arms and bosoms, superfluous bows and ribbons in the hair and clothes, &c.," in which they left it to the court to punish the offenders at discretion.

The manners were, in other respects, as simple as they could be in any commonweal consisting of such varied elements. Families of station lived in the closest privacy;

and active energy for work could alone secure to the under classes the means of subsistence. The two sexes were separated by the strictest ideas of propriety, and where this was insufficient the law interfered.

Josselyn tells us of a law which punished with fine or corporal punishment kissing a woman in the street, though only as a salute. We cannot discover this law; but, as the offences against good manners were left to the discretion of the assistants, it is very probable that this punishment was inflicted during his stay in Boston. Married emigrants, who did not bring their better-halves with them, were sent back without ceremony by the first ship, unless they could justify themselves satisfactorily and offer security for their good behaviour. A glance at their laws, in the next chapter, will show that they punished adultery with death, according to the law of Moses. As at the beginning the unreasonable severity of this law met with some opposition among the deputies, the organs of the people, those who sinned in this way escaped, till the year 1637, with bodily punishment, heavy penalties, and banishment for life; but when, in this year, the law was fairly published, it acquired full force, and many were executed in pursuance of it.

One of the highest military personages in Massachusetts, the above-named Captain Underhill, a warrior of merit and experience, excessively annoyed the court and public of Boston, in spite of his being a member of the church. He had taken part in the Antinomistic affairs, had been deprived of his burgesship, as a blamer of the government and clergy, and been disarmed with the others. In order to reconcile himself with the leaders of the commonweal, he had made a sort of recantation;

but, in the following year, a complaint was made before the court that, in his private conversation, he still called them scribes and pharisees, and how he related that he had lain five years in the bonds of the law, and had never been able to receive any assurance of salvation, until, all at once, precisely as he was smoking a pipe of tobacco, the Holy Ghost came unto him with such decisive promises of free grace, and with such joy and assurance, that he had since then never doubted that he was in a state of salvation, even should he again fall into sin. His accuser was a poor woman whom he had wished to seduce into his errors ; for a system of accusation, destructive to all morality, was supported by the government with such determination, that any one who heard another utter an oath, and did not inform against him, was obliged to share his punishment. Underhill rebutted this accusation and sought to defend himself, but he was unfortunate enough, while doing so, to show his Antinomistic opinions, and in some degree to recall his recantation ; whereupon banishment was pronounced against him. On the following Sunday he addressed the brethren, and sought to prove that the breaking through of grace might as easily have taken place with him while he was enjoying tobacco, which is a created thing, that is in the midst of earthly enjoyment, as Paul when persecuting the Lord's anointed.

He could not at first be convicted of an immoral life, of which he had been accused ; and they were obliged to content themselves with a public warning, as a prelude to excommunication. He went as a banished man to Piscataqua, where he attained great honour on account of his warlike name ; nay, he was chosen governor there

before the Boston government had had time to warn them. Meanwhile his unbridled life in Boston had come to light, and he was cited by the church to justify himself, for which the court sent him a safe pass. The

1639 spiritual power of the church was, in fact, so enormous, that Underhill, after many excuses and pretexts, found himself compelled to appear with a certain prospect of excommunication, which was realized; nevertheless, so long as he had some weight in his new place of abode, he did not trouble himself much about it; but when, by his misconduct, and especially through the interference of the Massachussetters, he had lost his character, he knew well that he could not escape from the ban either in Connecticut or in Plymouth, and accordingly resolved to return as a penitent to the lap of the

1640 church. Thus, among the congregational Puritans, each individual church had secured for itself the position of the pope, and the launching of the anathema was in their narrow circle as destructive as was once the popish throughout the whole Christian world. Underhill, who till then had been wont to preserve a sober, neat exterior, even to the verge of vanity, now appeared in the church in his worst clothes, without any collar, with a dirty cap pulled down on his face, and white visage. Thus he stood, in an elevated place, among the "holy," who had the satisfaction of seeing a man of rank, a brave warrior who had once fought for their safety, and but a short time previously been their brother by the same church covenant, now bend before "the kingly sceptre of the Lord Jesus, in the simplicity of the gospel;" and, humbled and contrite, lay down before them, with sobbing voice, a long confession of sins. Well

might many a pious heart, among the "holy," send forth to heaven the prayer,—“ I thank thee that I am not as this man ! ” He laid “ before the church all his temptations, his struggles, his despair, and the whole series of his crimes ; how the evil one had gotten power over him, and had him quite in his hands since the community of the holy drove him forth ; ” also the more particular circumstances of his immoral connexions : “ how she had resisted him six months, until he gained her over by assuring her that, once certain of grace, he could not be deprived of it again, &c.” “ He spake well,” says an eye-witness, “ except that his voice was broken by his ‘ blubbing ; ’ ” of course, all cried and groaned with the contrite sinner. His urgent request, that the church would again tear him from the claws of Satan and receive him back, was granted by removing the ban. The day after, he repeated the same unworthy scene before the court of assistants, whereby he gained the removal of the banishment, but not his burgesship.

All these public humiliations did not, in the opinions of that day, in any way prejudice his civic honour. He did not remain much longer in Massachusetts, but during the whole of his later life, in Connecticut and New York, we see him clothed with honours and authority, or in honourable employments. Whether he was a hypocrite or a fanatic is difficult to decide, and is indifferent here ; for the repulsive affair we have related is only of importance from its being so characteristic of the time and place.

A society which finds a certain satisfaction in the moral abasement of one of its members, cannot be regarded as possessed of a sound spirit ; on the other hand,

it cannot surprise us that, with the great uniformity of life, and the distance from the charms of the world in which men lived, nature should seek to revenge herself and allow them to enjoy, with a kind of profligacy, religious excitement and theological amusements, as the only ones which they could have. The wilderness which lay around them naturally filled their minds with gloomy pictures. Years passed away ere the first settlers could lay themselves down to sleep without hearing, in the stillness of night, the howl of the wolf ring through the woods, and still more frequently were they startled by the hideous yell of the Indians. Such "Satan's work" must have made them yearn doubly after a continuous intercourse with God. Church-going twice or thrice on the Sabbath, lectures twice or thrice a week in the evenings, were, besides the regular devotions, morning and evening, the only relaxation for the women from their household labours; a sermon, or religious lecture, was, at that distance from all the "book-fair" or society could have offered them in Europe, their sole spiritual support; thereto may be added, that a regular visit to the holy assemblies appeared to them as a command—a condition indispensable to salvation; and they had the intaught conviction that the prayer of many was of more avail than that of individuals. Besides this, sermons, and especially the lectures, offered some food for curiosity; for the most various subjects were treated of in them, and there was scarcely a topic of the day which escaped being used often in arbitrary connexion with some text from the Bible.

Cotton was particularly well stored with such references, and was withal a great favourite among the

women ; but we doubt if his subjects would always suit the taste of our time. Thus, for instance, the unhappy Anna Hutchinson was delivered, in 1638 Acquidneck, of a monster ; which no one can consider very incompatible with her disordered state, the theological combats she had gone through, and her passage through the wilderness. When the news came to Boston there reigned a holy joy among her opponents, not over the misfortune of the fallen sister, but only that God had manifested his opinion of her so open and clearly. Even her friends were confused ; and Cotton, who, as we know had long given up the Antinomistic dream-ress, chose this unfortunate birth for the subject of one of his lectures, and, in the presence of a troop of women and maidens, “dissected,” with the disgusting circumstantiality of a medical essay, the unearthly formation of this unhappy monster ; and, retracing it to its origin, represented it as the image of her errors, and saw these symbolized in it. The sermons for and against veils have been already mentioned ; besides this, there was not a public act, not an order from the government, which was not immediately followed by an “explanation.” Cotton’s pieces of elocution were, in particular, full of political references, and his opinions had equal weight in state and domestic matters.

But, however willing men might be to let themselves be led by church and preacher, the free-given word, his own researches into it, compelled every thinking man, who had a conscience, to bring his inward life into harmony with what is commanded in it ; and here was struck many a false note, and a constant brooding and thinking engendered, as to what was to be struck out as

ing to sin : hence the external expositions
ns, and their rejection of things which
he unprejudiced harmless and innocent.
In England, where the powerful counterpoise of a num-
ber who thought differently, bent down the scale, they
could not abandon themselves so undisturbed, at least
not so lastingly, to this self-willed conscientiousness ;
but in America they had, as lords of the wilderness, an
unbounded field. Winthrop in particular, an honest
searcher of the Gospel, but of narrow views, was in-
clined to religious and moral scruples. He had scarcely
arrived in the New World before he abolished at his
table the well-known English custom of taking wine
with one another ; and displayed such zeal against this
vain, worldly custom, "for which there was neither autho-
rity nor command," that it was not without influence.
But this was not enough for him : he had happily con-
vinced the greater part of the leaders ; the led must fol-
low without conviction. Nine years after, he had, by
dint incessantly waging war, brought it so far, that a
law was passed against this custom in the general as-
sembly.

A similar hatred raged among the puritans against
the custom of wearing long hair ; and here the Scrip-
tures seemed to offer them an irresistible argument, in
the words of the apostle Paul, "that it is dishonour
to a man when he sheweth long hair." When Henry
Vane returned to England, from his journey on the
Continent, he at once had his long, fashionable hair cut
off, as a sign of his opinions, and for so doing received a
congratulatory writing on such a step ; but yet, in his
time, short or long hair seem to have been no very sure

sign of religious opinions; for we find among the fathers of New England, as for instance Winthrop himself, and Edward Winslow, drawn, in pictures of this date, with tolerably long waving hair; but, towards the middle of the century, when the most obstinate zealots saw their cause crowned with triumph, and saw therein an open ratification from the Lord, the absurd religious caprice of minutely examining the words of Scripture seems to have reached its height. In 1649, the year after Winthrop's death, we find Endecott, with the whole staff of the government, forming an association against the "unmanly and uncivilized fashion of long hair, which is contrary to the precept of God's word, which corrupts good manners, and injures modest and earnest people." In order to prove their innocence, they all signed a writing, in which the clergy are especially conjured not to tolerate any longer such bad customs among members of their church; but many preachers had already, of their own accord, gone so far that a new rousing-up was scarcely necessary; but when, after the restoration, the fashion of wigs made its way gradually, from England thither, the pious man who in other respects displayed, in many features of his life, not only the fulness of Christian love, but also a clear and powerful judgment, broke out into a kind of "blessed fury!" which sought an outlet in all ways, not only in the pulpit, but even in common life. He was especially hurt by even clergymen beginning "to twine their hair into debaucheries of this kind," and referred all the troubles of the land, nay, even the Indian wars, to this corruption of manners.

In the same way his wrath fell upon tobacco smok-

ing, which was at an earlier period called tobacco drinking. At the very commencement the authorities declared themselves against it, and had set punishments on the immoderate and improvident misuse of it, and then on the use of it. The smoke thereof was compared, by pious zealots, to the smoke of the puddles of hell; but when some clergymen began to find flavour in a whiff, they contrived to have the tobacco "set at large;" but this did not prevent honest Elliott from letting loose his fury in sermons and conversation against "Christians making themselves slaves to this noxious weed, and stupefying themselves:" only at the end of his life did he give up both attempts, exclaiming, with a sigh, that "the lust was not to be vanquished."

But nothing more roused the ire of the puritans than that remnant of popery, the sign of the cross; nay, even the very name, in any other than its material import. Once, when Winthrop was returning from a visit to Plymouth, he came upon a place which John Hewes, one of the earliest settlers of Scituate, had called "Hewes' Cross," and at which the Brownists, it appears, had taken an offence; but Winthrop took the liberty of naming it "Hewes' Folly," in order that posterity might not think that the popish creed had first been planted there. Endecott's daring, in cutting the cross out of the royal flag, was considerably more impolitic and over-hasty, but was so completely in harmony with the views of the puritans, that he gave the fathers of Massachusetts the opportunity of quite omitting it in future, and of thinking about substituting some other royal sign, as the red and white rose.

It was likewise sinful to call Sunday by its heathenish

name, instead of Sabbath, or the Lord's Day, and the clergy exerted their zeal against it. In the same spirit the names of the months, and days of the week, were abolished, and indicated, in the clumsiest manner, by mere numbers.* It will readily be believed that the heathenish or popish festivals, as Easter, Christmas, &c., were not acknowledged; nay, the celebration of the latter, so much loved in England and Germany, was at length forbidden by a formal command, and the offenders were fined. A shopkeeper was accordingly compelled to sell on this day, against his conscience, and a workman to work; it was also forbidden to speak of the saints in any other way than as they are found in the history and letters of the apostles. Placing St. before the names, as St. Peter, was rejected as popish, and they went so far as to omit it where it had been incorporated into the names of places, as in the names of the islands of St. Thomas, St. Christopher, which were called now simply Thomas, Christopher Island; and "why not," they asked, "as well of the patriarchs, the holy Abraham, the holy Isaac?"

While they were now so anxiously occupied in avoiding everything sinful, they thought they had a good right to consider themselves and their purified community, like the children of Israel in the days of yore, the favourite servants of God. In great things, as in small, they were occupied in explaining every occurrence after their own preconceived convictions.

In the most minute occurrences and events they strove to recognize the finger of the Lord, and by obscure

* They soon left this off, probably from a wish not to be confounded with the Quakers, who took up this habit.

meditation to find out reasons for the wise acts of the Almighty. Many features of this kind have something unspeakably comic in their frankness and frivolity ; thus, for instance, Winthrop, with perfect seriousness, tells us that " his son had stored up in a room, where corn was also kept, a great many books, and, among others, one in which a Greek Testament, the Psalms, and a Common Prayer-book were bound up together, and how he had one day found that the latter had been quite gnawed away by mice, whilst the two other parts, with the other books, were untouched."

Winthrop's whole diary teems with traces of such pious and egotistical false wisdom. It is permitted and right to seek to understand the ways of Providence ; to clear their darkness with the light of our reason, so far as this reaches, and with believing and adoring heart to receive the doctrines and warnings which the most unimportant occurrences of the day announce as clearly as the fate of worlds ; but let man take heed against falling into that pious selfishness, in which he at once makes himself the central point of creation, and other men his tools for external matters, as for salvation. But as the arrangement of the world must be subordinate to the word of God, the puritans did not doubt that the Lord had himself paved to them, the spreaders of that word in all its purity, the way into the wilderness, by having sent his pestilence to sweep away the natives in thousands, as he had once, in ancient days, expelled the heathens to make room for his people. In the same spirit they gave thanks for the death of Mason, the enemy of the colony, as for a favour. We have previously mentioned the manner in which the unfortunate confinement

of Anna Hutchinson was received. Her fearful death was regarded as a just punishment of God, for her falling-off from them. Winthrop has a long register of examples, how all those who had striven against them, the elect of God, nay, only spoken against them, had been punished by his hand. The historical works of that period are full of examples of the visible action of God's rights on the march of events, in the chastisement of sinners, especially sabbath-breakers, and in protecting his servants from mischances. Accustomed not only to point out the dispensation of Providence, in all outward events, but also to recognize in them his anger or mercy, they were unwearied in humiliating themselves before the irritated Jehovah, by setting public days of fast and penance; or acknowledging his grace by festivals and thanksgiving; and this did not occur merely in their own matters: they always took up the cause of their persecuted and struggling brethren in Germany and France, just as we see them, during the whole course of the thirty years' war, aid the German protestants by zealous and frequent publicly-appointed prayers.

CHAPTER XV.

PAUSE IN THE EMIGRATION.—CODE OF LAWS AND METHOD OF ADMINISTERING JUSTICE.—DEVELOPMENT OF THE CONSTITUTION.—1640 TO 1646.

IN 1640, a complete cessation took place in the emigration to New England. The long parliament was assembled, and religious persecution, the principal source of its population, had ceased in the mother country. The first effects of this sudden change were very disquieting for the settlers. All provisions, of which moreover a great quantity were this year sent out from England, sank to one-half, nay, one-third of their price. The worth of cattle fell in such a manner that a milch-cow, which at an earlier date would have fetched £25 to £30, now scarcely brought £6. A want of ready money ensued, so that many families well to-do saw themselves suddenly plunged into poverty. Before this, corn and furs, especially beaver, had been used by order of the government as a medium of payment, but the former had lost its worth and the sellers hesitated to take it; the latter was in this year scarcely to be had. A temporary embarrassment ensued. In New England, fifty towns and villages were inhabited by Englishmen; from thirty to forty churches had been founded by

them; several forts and small castles built, and they soon showed a disposition to press further on, and send colonies to Long Island and Delaware. The number of emigrants for 1642 is given at twenty-one thousand two hundred persons, that is about four thousand families, who came over in one hundred and ninety-eight ships. Not less than seventy-seven clergymen, driven from the mother country for non-conformity, were at this time resident in New England, and many returned in 1641, when a more favourable prospect seemed to open to them, for America was to those who came later nothing more than an asylum from persecution. The pettiest common in their father-land seemed preferable to the struggle and self-denial of the wilderness. Others again had already translated their affections from the thankless soil of New England to the West Indies, where a lovely climate and productive region promised to reward their toils better, and among them were some of the first undertakers, as Humphrey, who had probably been set against the land by several pecuniary losses and some dishonourable family events, which the court had, in its inquisitorial manner, brought out into revolting publicity. But at the head of the West Indian undertaking stood Lords Say, Seal, and Brooke, who seem to have never been very much in earnest with their New England plans. On the other hand, some others, and above all Winthrop, made it a matter of conscience and religion to stand by New England. The more sacrifices it cost them, the dearer it became; it was the Canaan which the Lord had assigned to his chosen people; and now to leave it, on account of worldly advantages, seemed to them not only unmanly, but even sinful. Winthrop was unwearied in showing

how punishment had pursued those who had so selfishly and faint-heartedly given up New England. The Lords had completely failed in their West Indian plans. The Spaniards broke into the island, and they lost enormous sums. Misfortune after misfortune fell on Humphrey. Of those who went back to New England, some were punished at sea by violent storms, which were not allayed "till they had humbled themselves before the Lord, and acknowledged that God's hand had punished them justly for having spoken ill of this good land, and the Lord's people in it;" and even this did not sufficiently atone for their heavy sin. Others fell into greater distress than they had sought to avoid. Thus the unspeakably proud conviction, that in all the counter-workings of man, they were the fondlings of God, helped them through every adversity.

Meanwhile, the difficulty of supporting themselves which now ensued, first really woke up the people to industry and activity. There was scarcely one of the second set of emigrants who did not find himself sensibly deceived in the fertility of the soil. The first comers, full of hopes after their long voyage, carried away by their early impressions, had painted the fruitfulness of the land in the most glowing colours. Be it remembered that the Society of Massachusetts, as encouragement to the accession of members, promised two hundred acres to every one who paid in £50, a sum for the interest of which they could have bought two thousand, when they came to know the land better.* A

* A little later, two or three pence were paid for an acre, and with the sum mentioned above, a whole province might have been bought. In 1716, a society bought in this part of the world five-hundred thousand acres for about £100.

short experience taught the settlers that their cultivated land was scarcely worth as much money or labour as they had expended on it. So long as thousands after thousands poured in, the products of New England scarcely sufficed to support them. But now the number of the consumers was suddenly limited, and they could not afford to pay for the wares of the mother country. They began to prepare cotton, which they got at a moderate price from West India, and to plant flax and hemp, which they used for domestic purposes. They also applied themselves actively to commerce; the fields and houses had been cared for, and they found time to saw planks for export, and prepare hoops, shingles, and hams. Of their ship-building we have already spoken; as encouragement, the government remitted military exercise to every one occupied in it. The same favour was granted to fishers during the time of the taking of stock-fish and perch; and those who made a trade of taking, preparing, and exporting fish, were freed from taxes and imposts. The settlers had hitherto, in imitation of the natives, manured their fields with fish. But now a fine was imposed on using either stock-fish or perch for this purpose. All these measures had such a good effect, that in 1641, three hundred thousand dried stock-fish were brought to market.

At the same time the colonists, looking at the altered state of things in the mother country, did not neglect to secure themselves all advantages. They used, indeed, with great characteristic moderation, the preponderance which their friends and patrons had gained in parliament. For when a hint came from England
that the time had now come when they could, 1640

perhaps, receive unusual favour from parliament, they, after mature reflection, gave up this advantage, because, if they had put themselves under its protection, they must have submitted to the laws which it might impose on them, a thing likely to end to their prejudice. But in order to administer properly their affairs, and especially to calm their creditors by a true representation of the state of matters, they resolved upon sending agents thither, and accordingly a merchant of Boston, called Hibbins, and two preachers, taken from their churches, were chosen. One of the latter was Welde, a narrow, bigotted zealot, who, as his colleague Elliot remained, could very well be spared from home; the other was Hugo Peters, of notorious memory, who thus went to his fate, and never returned to New England.

It cannot astonish us to find the clergymen of the colony thus made use of in worldly matters, so long as the administration under the first charter lasted, that is, during the whole of the seventeenth century, we see them interfering in all civic and state matters; men taking their opinion sometimes for counsel, sometimes for decision. This, however, seems to be the first instance where they were formally, naturally in accordance with their, perhaps, unexpressed wishes, taken away from their communities, and employed to negotiate public matters.

Hugo Peters had long conducted all the trade of Salem with as much activity as skill, and had showed not less zeal for the worldly advantages of his community, than for the welfare of their souls. He was a man of rule mind and coarse judgment, and not even possessed of that scholastic learning which was peculiar to

the most common theologians of his day. Yet his untiring activity and energetic sagacity, which showed him at once how to seize the right means, succeeded in enabling him to reach the goal, and to gain an important influence wherever he lived and moved. When a young man, in England, he had, by means of his restless zeal, a stentorian voice, and a certain abrupt, direct kind of eloquence, which resulted in common sense delineations intelligible to every one, won the name of a powerful preacher, and on all sides, among his brethren, that of a warm Christian, owing to his orthodox zeal and blind hatred of heretics. In Salem, where he succeeded Roger Williams, whose followers he excommunicated without further ceremony, he had in a short time won for the church a hundred and fifty new members. But they were to believe without much pondering and brooding; belief and work were his watchword. He, therefore, with one blow, abolished all lectures and edifying assemblies held on other days than Sundays, as they took up too much time, and, instead thereof, directed the minds of his parishioners towards trade and fishing; his personal influence was enormous, and scarcely less than that of Cotton, though of quite a different character. For, whilst the former roused to contemplativeness, the latter, by his fire, carried men into the active world. Long after he had left them, the Salmers loved to think of the long, lean form, and fiery zeal of their pastor. He laughed at the idea of converting the Indians; they were in his eyes a brood of Satan's, from which the earth was to be purified; and although he allowed himself to be employed as agent by the society formed for this purpose, he was not to be moved to give a penny from his purse.

His rude energies, his restless endurance, made him dear to Cromwell, who knew well how to choose his tools, and the dictator gave him employment both in praying and fighting. In Ireland he victoriously led a brigade under the command of the great general, whom he also served as chaplain; and his task was by preaching to work on men's minds, and so prepare the way for the execution of the king, and the overturning of every existing thing. During the period when the unhappy monarch was compelled to attend the service of a religious sect which he detested, the other managed to torture him by the coarseness of his Scripture allusions, and an impudent republicanism, which made him appear more hateful to the royalists than Knox to the friends of the similarly circumstanced Mary, because he had not the plea of blind fanaticism.* After the execution he dwelt in Whitehall, in Laud's state rooms, and the parliament presented him with the library of the unlucky prelate. His patron made him prover of those capable of preaching, and reviser of the laws. In the spirit of some moderns of our time, he proposed the annihilation of all existing laws, and that all our old documents should be burnt, as they were documents of tyranny, and then to begin anew. He turned away his heart from the colony of Massachusetts, when with Cromwell he took up the idea of universal toleration, and when

* So much was Peters hated by the royalists, that a report was spread that he, disguised, had officiated as executioner. In his last work, however, "*Legacy of a Father to his Child*," he denies distinctly having had any share in the murder of the king; nay, he maintains that he did all he could to prevent it; the king had treated him contemptuously, but he did all in his power to save him.

he would no longer, like them, satisfy his desire of domination, by persecuting those of a different opinion. And this feeling became stronger, when his wife, who had in forgetfulness sinned against the church of Massachusetts, was excommunicated by it. When he himself felt the edge of the sword he had once so mightily used, he began to hate those who used it against him.

At the time, however, of his being sent to England he was devoted to them, and was certainly not wanting in activity. Although a regular appeal to parliament in behalf of their trade did not, for the reasons above alleged, belong to the commissions of the deputies, yet their activity found means to work upon it. The house of commons issued a motion, by which they freed the exports and imports of the colonies from all taxes, after having acknowledged, in very definite terms, that the colonists of New England had thus thriven, without having cost the mother country any thing, and hence that they were "very profitable and convenient."

In the mean time, the interior of the commonweal took on a more fixed form. In 1635, the representatives of the people had uttered some distrust against the arbitrary decisions of the authorities, and demanded a formal code of laws. Winthrop and the other fathers of Massachusetts were for enacting laws, as necessity called them forth. For they thought it was only thus that they could secure themselves against the reproach of having overstepped their charter, and they well knew that in many things they had departed from the English laws. Yet the demand of the people carried the day; committees were formed of laymen and clergymen to deliberate upon it. But men soon found that the matter

did not ripen in this way, and accordingly, at the wish of the people, two clergymen were commissioned to form the plan of a complete code of laws. These were Cotton and Ward, the latter a preacher in Ipswich, beloved for his democratic views. In 1649, both their plans were handed in. Both were based on the law of Moses, and animated by the same spirit. The government decided for Ward's plan; and after this had been well revised at the general meetings, altered, improved, sent off in copies to the various townships, and finally reduced to a hundred laws, it was introduced on trial for three years, under the title of the Body of Liberties. In 1648, this code of laws was revised by committees appointed for the purpose, consisting of lay and clergymen, and completely incorporated with the laws previously existing, and confirmed by government under the title of "Laws and Liberties of Massachusetts;" it was then printed for the first time.

The planters of Massachusetts were by their charter entitled to make their own laws, provided these were not in contradiction to those of the mother country. In fact, even in civic matters, they and the mode of administering them were as well adapted as altered circumstances seemed to allow. Winslow was right, when in a defence against a charge, of having deviated from the English laws, he said, "We follow the customs of England so far as our constitution allows; but as the clothes of a grown man would only incommode, nay, suffocate a child, instead of giving him warmth and comfort, inasmuch as they are too heavy for him, so I have often said that the laws of England, taken as a whole, would be too unwieldy for our weak condition."

If they had deviated in civic matters from the laws of England, it was principally in cases where an exact accordance would have been absurd or impracticable, or in some others, where the preference of the Levitical law had taken too strong hold of them. Such was the case with the Jewish law of inheritance, which gave to all children similar inheritance, but two-fold to the eldest son; but it could still be arranged otherwise, as was often done. Another of their earliest laws rested on the same basis; for as the Jews were forbidden to alienate lands from one race to the other, so was it here forbidden to sell to any one but the inhabitants the lands which were granted to each one at the first division, without the especial permission of the town; a regulation which their practical good sense soon taught them to abolish.

Marriages were consummated by magistrates, or, in places where there were none, by commissaries appointed thereto, whose authority was only valid in the district assigned to them. If a clergyman was present he generally said a prayer, or even gave a suitable sermon; but the fulfilment of the marriage ceremony by them was forbidden by a special law. In the same way the wedding-ring, which from the very beginning had been a stumbling-block to the Puritans, was formally banished, and regarded with a kind of holy wrath, as a relic of the corruption of papistry. The Plymouthers had learnt from the Dutch to degrade marriage to a mere civic act. The puritans of Massachusetts seem to have taken their pattern from Scotland; but the principal reason for this manner of proceeding was, that the Jewish marriage required no priestly blessing. The banns were said three times; separation from bed and board were unknown,

but legal separations were granted in certain cases—for instance, on complaints of maliciously forsaking, or, on the side of the wife, for cruel treatment by the husband. The degrees of relationship were, as in England, fixed after the Jews.

Though they thus regulated their civil laws principally after the English, they had still in their penal copied exclusively after the Levitical; the pen which wrote them was dipped in blood. It has, however, been urged in their defence, by some unconditional admirers of their ancestors, that the number of crimes punishable by death was by a long way not so great as that of the English law. They find, in their change to the Levitical laws, a proof of the mildness of puritanical legislation, and maintain that in scarcely any nation of Europe was the criminal code so humane as in the earlier part of New England.

The legal codes of the European nations took their rise in the very dawn of civilization. Can it be considered as mildness and merit in the puritans, that they had not brought over into the wilderness with them many bloody laws descended from the darkest ages, and only existing on paper, such as the horrible chase and forest laws of the Normans, and a countless number of similar ones, in order to produce them in some other shape, in the seventeenth century; or that they willingly allowed laws to become a dead letter, which were of no importance to them, as those against coining; or those which brought them no danger, *e. g.* those on high treason against the members of the royal family? Their code of laws said nothing about this, but they were ready enough to punish with death conspiracy, high treason, and insurrection against their own common

weal. In respect to burglary and theft, which the English alone, of all the codes in Europe, punished with death, they cheerfully chose the Levitical law, which treats such transgressions as are produced by need with more humanity. Violent dishonouring of a virgin was not at first made a capital offence, as the oriental want of respect for woman allowed this infamous action to be made good by marriage or money.

Of the capital crimes of the English law, only murder, homicide, witchcraft, sodomy, rape on children, and incendiarism were also in Massachusetts punished with death; but there were many others which were either punished more leniently in the English code; or, on account of being so unnatural, were not mentioned in other codes of laws. Scrupulously following the law of Moses, death was set upon idolatry,* blasphemy, kidnapping, adultery, perjury, (when a human life was implicated by it); ill-treatment of a parent when the child was above sixteen years old, nay, the stiff-necked obstinacy of a son, when one of the parents appeared as plaintiff. Every one of these laws was explained and justified by reference to different authors; and this seemed necessary to appease the people and the legislators, who did not shed blood from inclination, but from the conviction that the angry Jehovah demanded it from them. The pious zeal of the clergy who had projected the first plan of the code of Massachusetts—at least, that of Cotton, for Ward's *unaltered* plan has never been laid

* According as the word idolatry might be viewed, Hutchinson remarks, a catholic might perhaps have been executed for adoring the host. When the jurisdiction of Massachusetts began to comprise Indians, the law was so far altered in their favour, that the priest was fined £5 for celebrating his divine service, and every one present 20s.

before the world—assigned death to six or seven other offences, such as sabbath-breaking, heresy, slander of the higher authorities, &c. But, luckily for the colonists, the laymen who stood at the helm were milder than the churchmen; and the hand of Winthrop, whose heart was milder than his principles, erased, at the first revision, the punishment of death for these offences. He wished to have them and similar ones punished by banishment, or left to the discretion of the authorities. Despite a holy veneration for the very letter of Scripture, in which no one surpassed him, his lawyer-like judgment, which he had long exercised in the laws of England—for he had been elected justice of the peace in his eighteenth year—told him that the Levitical laws, in all their bloody severity, were not suited to the Anglo-Saxon races.

Many offences are only punished with death in case of repetition; as, for instance, denying that any book of the Old or New Testament, which for this purpose were all carefully enumerated in the code, is the infallible written word of God; or the return of a jesuit, or catholic priest, or later, on, a quaker to their territory after banishment had been pronounced against him; others only when they were committed a third time, as house breaking or street robbery. The first case of transgression was punished with branding on the cheek, the second with the same ineffaceable mark of ignominy on the other cheek and whipping; but if the crime took place on a Sunday, the offender's ears were cut off in addition to the other punishments. Some, designed with fiendish ingenuity to produce public ignominy and irrevocable dishonour, as sitting in the stocks, branding, standing in the pillory, iron collars, or similar emblems

of disgrace, which the unlucky creatures were often obliged to carry about for years,* were especial favourites with the magistracy, and mercilessly ordered in cases where the punishment was left to the discretion of the judge. It must not, however, be forgotten that they belonged more to the age than to the individual.

Thieving was punished with whipping, and threefold restoration of what had been stolen: Tramping and contempt of the authorities were punished with fine or whipping, at the discretion of the justices; offences also against manners were left to their judgment; the conscientiousness of the Puritans and their fear of overstepping the Levitical law were so great, that at first all sorts of doubts were raised as to whether or not it was in consonance with the Scripture that extravagances in unmarried persons, and immorality as a trade, should be punished by bodily chastisement or by fine. It depended on the arbitrary decision of the judge to compel a seducer to marry his victim. It must have been difficult enough for them to bring the oriental doctrine of manners and the Jewish lawgiver into unison with their German feelings of modesty, and their puritanical condemnation of the most innocent familiarities. As things stood, it could easily happen that a young man, for having written a modest love letter to a young lady, without having previously obtained the permission of her parents, might be fined by the court a sum a hundred times larger than the criminal who cheated a poor maiden

* Thus a woman, who lived in immoral intimacy with an Indian, was condemned, as a sign of her shame, to carry for a whole year on her sleeve an Indian, cut out of red cloth. A drunken bully, who had often been punished, to wear a D. about his neck for the same space of time. Similar brandings, which must gradually deaden all sense of shame, frequently occur.

of honour and innocence. For courting a maiden without the knowledge of her parents was punished by a fine of £5, doubled on repetition; a third offence (!) was followed by close imprisonment so long as the authorities should find good. Their sumptuary laws fixed exactly the width of the sleeves and the cost of the stuff, and commanded the greatest moderation. Their other moral and police laws, and the punishments set upon dancing, &c., have been already alluded to.

Lying, swearing, and cursing were all burthened with heavy penalties, of from 5s. to 40s., or, in case of inability to pay, with bodily punishment. However, heavy blows were the utmost that durst be given, and only the most detestable offences drew down such severe chastisements. Bodily punishment was not considered dishonouring; the really dark side of this police was that it favoured a reckless, demoralising system of tale-telling. He who heard others curse and swear and did not inform against them, was subjected to the same punishment as they were. Drunkenness was severely punished—nay, even long carousing. Smoking was regarded as a dangerous crime, a kind of intoxication. At first it was only allowed in uninhabited places, and soon after quite forbidden.

Man and woman were protected by the same laws. Whilst the English law allowed the husband to punish his wife with a "reasonable instrument,"* the laws of Massachusetts punished the man who struck his wife as

* An English judge, in delivering the charge, stated that by a reasonable instrument was meant a stick not thicker than his thumb. On the following day a committee of ladies waited on him, to take the exact measure of his Lordship's thumb!

severely as a woman who struck her husband, namely, by a fine of £10, or bodily punishment ! It is to be presumed that, as, according to the English laws, also current in Massachusetts, a woman has no fortune ; but that, on the contrary, that which she acquires during married life belongs to her husband ; a man ill-used by his wife, if he was in possession of any money, would rather not bring the matter before court, because he would by so doing lose £10 into the bargain.

No one can be astonished that offences against religion should be censured with excessive severity in a state which regarded religion as its chief basis. In order not to be unjust towards the lawgivers who dictated these punishments, we must transport ourselves to a time when toleration and indifference were synonymous, and in which existed, at most, but very few individuals who did not concede to the civic authorities some degree of right over the consciences of men. The severe rules of the Puritans in the seventeenth century can certainly be neither justified by Luther in his anguish at seeing the holy evangelists so unhallowed, wishing to extirpate anabaptists with the sword ! nor Melancthon's approving Alvin's bloody concurrence in the sacrifice of Servetius, and by their greatest contemporaries thinking like them. These great men arose out of a darkness which wrapped in torpor all free examination of man and God, and it would have been a wonder if they and the few guiding stars had at once turned night into day. But the puritanical lawgivers lived a whole century later ; a century which had in many ways worked itself up in the doctrine and natural deductions of protestantism. Hence only individuals had arrived at elevated views on

the freedom of conscience, which in our age predominate so distinctly in all protestant, and in most catholic lands, that no lawgiver could now contract them. Holland, the only country in Europe of which the leaders had elevated themselves to a higher point, the only free place of refuge for the persecuted religious sects, was hence rather sunk than raised in public estimation; for every one of these sects begrudged with fanatical darkness the toleration which it claimed only for itself. Holland was to the English zealots "a cage for unclean birds;" a shelter for all errors and heresies. "Come forth, ye Hollanders, from that confused den of yours," said the bigot Johnson; "a huge mishmash of religions has caused the true faith of Christ to flourish so little." The friendly residence side by side of such different beliefs did not create respect, but rather scorn, for the state which had made it possible. Beaumont and Fletcher, in the *Fair Maid of the Inn*, introduced a personage with the words, "I am a schoolmaster, Sir, and come to take counsel with you how we can found four new religions in Amsterdam." Another English poet of that time represents the ark of religion, how in its passage from east to west it had suffered shipwreck, and how the unlucky Turks, Jews, heathens and Christians, holding fast to single planks, had saved themselves on that shore of conscience where the universal church is to be found.

In the same spirit, the fathers of Massachusetts saw, in the general tolerance of the newly formed neighbouring state of Rhode Island, only a rejectable lukewarmness which they held to be incompatible with order and the existence of justice. They did not doubt that the zealous Jehovah would be pleased with the severest ex-

communication of heretics; and when they had to struggle against powerful attacks in England, they still held with unshakeable firmness to their sabbath laws, which they considered identical with the preservation of religion.

We have previously seen that blasphemy and idolatry were punished with death, and the clergy wished to have the sabbath breaker expelled from human society; but the law introduced contented itself with banishing the heretic from the land, when his conversion had been in vain attempted. It was only when the Quakers would not be driven back by severe bodily punishments, that that of death was set upon their return. The regulation relative to their return begins thus: "Although no human power is master over the belief and conscience of man, yet because they who bring in damnable heresies, which have for their result the over-turning of Christian faith, and the destroying of the human soul, must be withheld from perpetuating such acknowledged profaneness, &c." The list of heresies was large. Before it reached banishment, they endeavoured by clerical instruction, and then by imprisonment, light fines or severe punishment, to bring back the erring to the church.

Profanation of the sabbath was punished in every case with fines of 10s. The real severity of the law lay in comprising every action which did not stand in direct connexion with devotional exercises, as going through the fields and streets, except to church; all business not indispensably necessary to the support of life was considered sabbath breaking. A settler in New Hampshire with great difficulty escaped a fine for having on a Sunday shot a bear, which was laying waste his fields: With express reference to the law of Moses (B. iv.), the

action of a poor man who sought for wood on a Sunday, was declared to be a desecration of the Sabbath. For offences committed by children above seven years old, the parents were first admonished, and then punished. From sixteen years upwards, every young man and maiden was self-responsible. It is said, that the captain of a ship was publicly whipped, for having on a Sunday embraced his wife, who, after a long separation, met him on leaving the ship. Even mothers were not to kiss their children on the Lord's day. Neglect of church-going was most severely visited in all cases where sickness did not present an insuperable obstacle ; the punishment being a fine of 5s. Workmen had to labour two or three days before they could earn so much ; field labourers much longer.

Overcharging in business was severely punished, and the representatives of the people claved strongly to the following out of such laws. A respectable man, a member of the church, and brother-in-law to Wilson, greatly disliked by the people on account of his selfish greediness, was severely fined for having taken sixpence profit (or, according to some eightpence) on the shilling. Retailers and workmen were often brought before court for offences of this kind, and not treated there with too much lenity.

The Body of Liberties had already pronounced against slavery, but in such a conditional manner, that we soon find both white and coloured men in a certain state of slavery. "There shall never exist among us," it says, Art. 91, "a serfdom, villainage, or bondage, except with such legal captives as are taken in just wars, and such strangers *as sell themselves freely to us, or are sold to us ;*

and they shall have all freedom and Christian treatment which the law of God, fixed in Israel, relative to such persons morally demands. But *this exempts no one from servitude who has been condemned thereto by the authorities.*"

In accordance with all these exceptions, we find first a considerable number of Indian war prisoners sold into servitude, as in the Pequodée war, and even several sent as slaves to West India, where, at least, their Christian treatment could not be guaranteed. But we never meet with a case where they were transferred, like wares, from one hand to another. Secondly, we find whites in a kind of slavery by contract for a number of years, as seven, &c. (debtors, not able to pay, sometimes did so to their creditors), or who had been condemned by the court for certain offences. Thus, for instance, a servant of the assistant Humphrey, who had by his negligence set his master's barn on fire, and occasioned him severe loss, was condemned to serve him twenty-one years. In Virginia, arrangements of this kind were for a long time very common; the white man was there quite as much an article of trade as the black, the only difference being that the slavery of the former was nominally not for life. But frequently the best years of his life had been passed in servitude, and in helpless old age freedom was no longer a blessing to him. His slavery was at first only lawful to the extent of clearing the expenses of his passage and outfit; but the "seller of souls,"* who brought him over for from £8 to £10, often sold him on his ar-

* In England, the wretches whose business it was to persuade inexperienced and thoughtless young people to wander out to America, were called "spirits."

rival for from £40 to £50, which the unhappy being had to work off. In 1672, five years of servitude were roughly calculated at £2. The transport of servants had become a regular business; they were sold in England for transport; and on arriving in Virginia, sometimes even without being disembarked, were knocked down to the highest bidder. So frightfully confused, in the seventeenth century, were the ideas of Englishmen as to the rights of man, that they sent their own prisoners, natives of their own island, to slavery in Massachusetts. Cromwell sent them the Scots taken at Dunbar; and the unfortunate Irish insurgents, as catholics, an object of abhorrence to the pious protestants, were led out and sold in thousands with inhuman severity. New England did not degrade itself much with this; the Scots, as brethren in religion, were treated with humanity; they were not, as Cromwell wished, sold into perpetual captivity, but only for a few years, and the most of them were placed in a position to set themselves free by work much sooner.

But there were negro slaves at an earlier period, without its being very clear whence they first came. 1620 In the very same year that the pilgrims first set foot on the ground of their severely won freedom, a Dutch ship brought the first unhappy stolen slaves to Virginia, twenty in number.* Samuel Manerick, of Noddle Island, who traded thither, probably brought his own slaves with him. He it is whom we first find, in 1639, in New England, keeping slaves, of whom he had four. And even in the very earliest mention of this af-

* The trade in negroes had been known full fifty-eight years in England. Sir John Hawkins was the first who drove this scandalous trade.

fair, the indescribably deep degradation is shown in which the white man kept the negro. Among his slaves was a captive queen, whom the others regarded with a kind of reverence, and who excited with her 1634 melancholy songs a degree of compassion even in the breast of Josselyn the traveller, the relater of this incident; but Maverick, who had all kinds of "noble fancies," wished, as he would have done respecting a dog, to have a "nigger brood." He therefore ordered a young negro slave to address himself to the unhappy woman, and on her rejecting him with scorn, to use force without any further ceremony. Such was then the position of the white man to the black.

The government was decidedly against the introduction of negro slaves. Two skippers of Boston—one of whom belonged to the "Saints," for he was a member of their church—fitted out a schooner for the coast of Guinea, to take in negroes there. But here they became involved in the adventures of a ship from London, lying there; a massacre ensued, and only a small number of negroes could be carried off, of whom two were brought to Boston, the others having probably been sold elsewhere. The government of Massachusetts at 1645 once ordered that they should be set free, and sent back to their fatherland by the first opportunity. A negro also, who was sold in Piscataqua, over which their authority at that time extended, was demanded back for having "been carried in a deceitful and shameful manner," and joined with the two others. At Sir Richard Saltonstall's particular wish, the skippers were brought before court to account for their criminal behaviour; but there is no record of their having been punished.

With these exceptions, there is no farther mention of the slave trade in the early history of New England. Winthrop repeatedly speaks of negro maidens, without, however, pointing them out as slaves. It is stated that between the years 1663 and 1673, "the colonists had many servants, some English, others negroes." In the Salem witch-actions, at the close of the century, negro slaves are mentioned, together with Indian slaves and wild Irish; but how little the government favoured the negro trade, is shown by their having in 1703 laid a tax of £40 on every black introduced.

As regards the military constitution of Massachusetts, every one above sixteen years, if not prevented by age or weakness, was bound to present himself at the common drillings at first every month, then eight times a year, and finally only every quarter.* Excepted were clergymen, teachers, officials, students, also one servant for every clergyman and magistrate. Arms were found at the cost of the common weal. The army was separated into companies of sixty-four men; they chose officers out of their number, who must be freemen, that is, members

1643 of the church, and who required to be confirmed by the government. After all, Massachusetts had been divided into four counties, and the whole commonweal was regarded as completely organised. A serjeant-major was set over the military of the three counties, Norfolk, Essex, and Middlesex; over that of Suffolk, in which Boston stood, a major-general, who was also at the head of military matters. These higher officers were chosen, like all other officials, every year, in the general assembly, by the freemen. Like them, they

* Even these military exercises were opened and closed with a prayer.

had no salary ; the Pequodde war, for instance, was carried on by volunteers, who refused all payment.

The judicial power was exercised by the half-yearly courts of assistants, as well in civic as in criminal matters, except in cases which came before the justices of peace. In extraordinary cases, extraordinary courts were called. When the colonies became more extended, the so-called quarterly courts were held in different districts, by the assistants living there, or by emissaries of the government, in conjunction with assistants (assessors) named by the freemen. These courts were competent to decide upon all civil matters, and such criminal ones as were not punishable by death, mutilation, or banishment. Appeal could be made from them to the court of assistants, and from this to the general court. Besides these, there were in many places petty courts, which decided on debts, minor offences, &c. The leading and conducting of all internal affairs of the towns was confided to select men, to be elected yearly by the freemen of each place. Their duty was peculiarly to conserve and correct the laws, to enforce attendance at the schools and churches, to withdraw neglected children from the authority of their parents, and transfer them elsewhere, &c. Juries, which had already previously decided in particular cases, according to the usages of England, were legally introduced in 1643, and fully organised three years later, and made a necessary part of every court. They were not impanelled for particular cases, but for the duration of the whole sessions. Their sentence decided not only criminal cases, but also in debts, accusations of heresy, &c. The governor gave the charge, under the rubric of the ten commandments. Any

offence against the laws could be declared a violation of the fourth commandment, the authorities constituting the parents who are to be honoured. The entire examination of Mrs. Hutchinson was thus conducted. A jury was not bound to give a general sentence, but simply to find guilty or not guilty. The jurymen often gave in their verdict to the effect, "that there existed strong grounds for suspicion, but that there was not sufficient proof for conviction;" or, "that the accused was not guilty of this offence or of that;" and the court was wont to pronounce sentence upon such a verdict, and thus to punish for offences for which the accused did not stand before their tribunal; the court also often refused to pronounce sentence upon the finding of the jury, and in such cases the matter came before the general court. No wonder that these proceedings, so contrary to law, displeased the English jurists, although we do not find that they occasioned any dissatisfaction in the country.

The necessary expenses of government were at first covered by temporary taxes, divided with the most perfect justice, according to the different states of fortune and means of business. The specifications for the taxes, prescribed at different times, which are preserved in the archives of the colony, offer in their earlier stages a complete history of the growth and riches of the different places. Regular taxes and imposts were first introduced in 1645. Among the foremost of these was a poll-tax on every one who had reached his sixteenth year. Taxes on property and gains were moderate, both previously and afterwards: so were the import duties. The frequency of fines served materially to increase the income of the government; the yearly costs of which,

when not heightened by extraordinary expenses, came to about £2000. So long as the government stood under the first charter, the governor never had more than £100 salary. During the sittings, both of the courts and of the government, a table was spread at the public cost, morning and evening, for the officials. Extraordinary imposts were only laid on in extraordinary cases.

In the very beginning it had been resolved that only the general cause should have power 1634 to raise monies, make presents, and divide lands. All the higher officials served without salary; but the governor had yearly a sum, according to the discretion of the court, never exceeding £100, for his extraordinary expenses, as receiving friends, &c.; a moderate outlay, which met with such opposition, that it was alternately recalled and renewed: it was, in fact, only in course of time that a fixed salary of £100 was allowed him, for the people jealously watched over the expenses of the government. £200 had once been granted by it to one of the assistants, to repair, in some degree, his great misfortunes and losses. Thereupon arose such a murmur, that the deputies, to quiet it, proposed a law to the effect that the general assembly should forbid all presents. The government felt that too much would be given up by allowing such a law to pass; and a loophole was found, by making it appear that it was done to avoid the crowd of petitions, promising that no more gratifications should be made until all debts were paid off, and there was a supply in the treasury.

The forms of the court, and the administration of justice, were in the highest degree simple. All prolixity

and not unavoidable expenses were so carefully shunned, that much therein must have appeared arbitrary and illegal, to those who were accustomed to the more complicated and involved condition of elder states. During the first ten or twelve years there were no advocates; every one had to conduct his own cause, or one of the magistrates officiated as pleader, freely and without fees. Even, later on, appointed pleaders were not considered necessary, nay, were often scarcely allowed, in order that the case in hand might be despatched more quickly. Summonses, writs of imprisonment, and other arrangements, were drawn out in the most summary manner. Protocols, without definite forms, and often without any marked exactitude, were accepted. There was so much to do, that there seemed to be time for nothing which the most imperious necessity did not demand; the king's name was never mentioned in any legal act; and even in the oaths of the burgesses the duty to the king was not mentioned, to the high displeasure of other Englishmen.

In 1640 a public register was drawn up, in which all sales, presents, &c., had to be recorded, and no treaty for such was acknowledged if it had not official confirmation. But such inexact and loose definitions had gained ground, in the transfer of titles and claims during the confusion of the first twenty years, that in the beginning of 1651 the courts found it absolutely necessary to introduce an irrevocable arrangement. Births, deaths, and marriages, were regularly inscribed in the register, under a penalty of 20s. for every omission. Every township had to keep its own register, and the entries were made by a clerk (the clerk of the writ) appointed for the purpose, and at the end of the year the results

were transferred to the county register; but the very simplest forms were always observed, and there could scarcely be found a stronger contrast than a comparison of the archives of this colony, under the first charter, would offer alongside the collective documents of a German jurisdiction, whereat the same period all the disorder of formalities, titles, and prolixities, had broken in like a stream which no power could stem, and no understanding could cope with, except that of a man initiated fully into the "trade-jargon."

We have already shown how soon the people of Massachusetts and their representatives began to watch over these rights, and we traced the development of the constitution up to the year 1635. A year previous, the right of negative voice, or the veto of the authorities, was, for the first time, discussed; this was on the occasion of Hooker's community going to Connecticut; on the first motion relative to which, in the general assembly, the governor, two assistants, and fifteen deputies voted for, the other assistants and ten deputies against it. All the latter maintained, that only the weight of the voices, that is, a majority of the magistrates, could cast the scale. The charter, which did not allude to representatives, naturally left the point undecided. It is uncertain whether, in the sittings of previous years, a greater weight had been silently conceded to the emissaries of the government, or whether there had never been a case which placed it in doubt; they never seem to have doubted about their rights, because they must have understood too well the advantages that would otherwise have ensued from making their number complete. The constitution appointed eighteen

assistants ; but after the ranks of the first set had been so thinned by death and returns home, no more than eight or ten had been chosen. At the commencement this seems to have been done in order to leave room for the gentlemen of noble family, with whose coming they flattered themselves up to the year 1640. That even at a later date, when this hope had long vanished, the number was not increased, may have originated from the unwittingly maintained principles of aristocracy which the settlers had brought from the old world, and could not so easily throw away. From the *abolition* of the law in 1661, we find that they had limited the number of assistants to fourteen ; but they had never found it necessary even to name this small number. During the whole of the first thirty years, they carefully selected only men of stamp and education as assistants, until the command of Charles II. to complete the number of assistants prescribed by their charter, brought into the government a number of *Dii minorum gentium*, to use the expression of a contemporary.

By the *system* of election adopted, the circle of government officials was easily supported in a kind of official dignity. At the election of the governor, each freeman threw into the urn a paper with a name written upon it, and he whose name was most frequently met with was chosen. At the election of the assistants, however, the governor proposed a number of names, and the freemen had the right of rejecting or approving. Every township had, indeed, for this purpose the right of sending in the day before a list of names, and the governor could only propose those for which the most towns united. But the assistants of previous years had

the right of being proposed first, and as they were in general the best and ablest men, they were, with few exceptions, regularly re-elected, and the gaps filled up with new-comers. The manner of *out-voting* is remarkable, from its patriarchal character. At first the votes were given in on a blank paper, and on one marked with a given figure; but in 1643 it was ordained that grains of Indian corn should signify assent, and leaves dissent.

The contest about the veto was at this time not decided, but for the moment happily shelved by a sermon of Cotton's, who exercised an extraordinary influence on men's minds. The community of Newtown remained for the mean time, and contented themselves with an extension of land, which was willingly granted them. The clergy in general sought to support intact the highest authority of those in power, and were industrious in proving it by sundry writings; and yet among them democracy found defenders, for which also the Bible must need furnish them references. Elliot wanted not to allow the government to close any treaty without the people being called together. Ward, 1634 once arbitrarily and illegally elected preacher by the people on the day of election, a right which the governor had hitherto exercised, counselled the people 1641 to keep the officials strictly in one rank, not to place one above the other. The continued election of the same man as governor was hindered by the clergy when the people seemed inclined to it. On the other hand, one of them, whose name is not mentioned in the history of his time, proposed a 1640 governor for life, "because God's word prescribed such."

The standing council also, which consisted of members appointed for life, issued from the clergy.

The Bible acknowledgedly offers arguments for monarchy as well as for theocracy and democracy ; and when an influential puritan preacher lighted on one of these, his soul was forthwith so filled with it, that he straightway sought to graft it on the growing state. The constitution of Israel under the judges, which God had by his own mouth arranged in all particulars, always remained the ideal, especially when considered subsequent to its development into the theocracy of Samuel. But this was in some measure opposed to the democratic constitution of the Church of Christ, built up after the pattern of the primeval church of Apostolic times. It is true, no one contemplated making the clergy rulers. Not they, but the church, the bride of Christ, consisting of lay as well as clergymen, should, for the general salvation of the whole body, rule over the elect people of God. The clergy were only her organ. But precisely because this ideal of the church necessarily comprised all the elected people, every one belonging to it must have felt that he was a co-operating member ; and thus, in theory, church and people were interwoven to a theocratic and democratic body. But in practice many contradictions arose, from the simple reason, that man is sent into the world to do something more than sing, pray, and exercise himself in meditative devotions.

By means of their representatives, the deputed freemen, the people were able with more consistency to struggle for a share in the government. The indefiniteness of the charter, and the personal disposition and great moderation

of those whom custom and merit elevated at every yearly election to authority, greatly assisted them. For the government, early perceiving the jealous disposition of the freemen, carefully avoided every occasion of nourishing it by appearing to strive after extension of their authority, and voluntarily conceded all privileges which the inexactitude of the document of the constitution (as well as those it alluded to distinctly) offered them. The charter really granted to the freemen no other share in the government than the yearly election of a leader, in order to let them have a voice in the legislation; every thing else was left to the appointed authorities, that is, the governor and his assistants. They really owed their share in the administration of the taxes and election of officials, and resolutions respecting peace and war, to the moderation of the authorities elected, who, with the most aristocratic claims, had a republic in view, and, instead of attempting to extend their power, retired more from it every year, until, in 1644, it came to a kind of conclusion.

It almost appears as if the ever active jealousy which the deputies showed as representatives of the people, had its origin more in their own ambition, and their wish to elevate their position to that of the assistants, than in the people themselves. The officials of government were, like the deputies, elected by the freemen; the former by those of the whole land, the latter by those of the separate towns; the one yearly, the other at first from session to session, afterwards also yearly. The governor was, indeed, clothed with a kind of dignity; satellites preceded him when he appeared in public; an official dress infused respect into the court, &c.; but at bottom he was

nothing more than the highest counsellor. He voted with the assistants, and had, in fact, only a casting vote in case of equal division. He could certainly convoke extraordinary courts, but only in urgent cases; and this power was also extended to the vice-governor, or to a majority of the assistants when it was neglected by the governor, but he could neither prorogue, adjourn, nor dissolve the sitting against a majority of the whole body; he had to distribute their commissions to the officials and officers, but these must be previously chosen by the general court. The entire dignity was made one of honour rather than power. The assistants had more power than the deputies, for they claimed a negative voice during the sitting, and settled cases occurring in the interval, and the office of judge was attached to that of the authorities; yet as the deputies were chosen by the people, it was always presumed that they would act as much in their interest as the deputies themselves. Moreover, in the entire tendency among persons of rank, there was really nothing which had indicated any particular desire of dominion, unbounded ambition, or even contempt for the people. They all enjoyed the reputation of honesty and piety, and as regards their way of living, it was much simpler and less aristocratic than it had been in England.

In spite of all this, the jealousy of the deputies was ever on the watch, and met with most support from some of the assistants themselves, particularly from Richard Saltonstall, son of Sir Richard, and Bellingham, then governor. For unworthy wooing of the public favour, the most degrading of all flatteries, will ever be an unavoidable result of demagogic institutions. The freemen

suspiciously watched every attack on their freedom of election. In 1639, when some vacancies had arisen among the assistants, the government, some time before the election meeting of the freemen, thought of proposing some worthy men, acknowledging at the same time the distinct right of election. But the proposition was sufficient to make them omit all these names. Obstinate struggles were occasioned by the further working out of the Book of Laws. Winthrop and others wished to leave the punishments for certain offences, as lying, cursing, &c., to the judges, as circumstances, which the law could not define, might here aggravate or milden the case. The deputies, with William Hawthorne at their head, preferred the most vexatious severity to arbitrary power. The right of a negative voice was again and so frequently discussed, that a loophole was thought to be found by dividing into two houses, making a majority in both necessary to a resolution, and the two chambers were separate from that time.

The deputies might justly consider this as a victory. Soon after, the power of the assistants between the sittings was called in question by the deputies, who proposed to add a committee of deputies. But here the officials stood firm; the proposal was rejected, as being "contrary to their charter, and unalterably leading to a mere democracy;" the deputies turned and twisted the motion in vain! They wanted, at least, that the affair should be well thought over before the next sitting. "Good," was the answer; "but, at least, till then we will use the authority lent to us by the charter." "You will not be obeyed," said Hawthorne, the speaker. The

elders called upon to give their vote decided in favour of the charter and government. The Narragansetts appeared unquiet, so that a speedy decision was necessary ; this decided the deputies upon giving way for the moment, and the government accepted a declaration, which they only gave in under protest (*salvo jure*).*

The most violent disputes were occasioned by a trivial occurrence, which passionately roused up the spirit of the people, and divided the whole land into two parties ; the natural distrust of the poor towards the rich being raised by it, and diligently kept alive by certain ill-disposed, unsettled heads. A pig had
1636 strayed into the yard of one Keague (previously mentioned), who had repeatedly pointed it out, and offered to give it up to the owner, provided he would come forward and claim it. Nearly a year after, application was made by a poor woman, whose pig had disappeared about this time ; but in the mean time Keague had slaughtered his, and as the woman could not recognize her porker amongst those which remained, she declared everywhere that the slaughtered animal had been her missing pig. The matter came before the court ; Keague was declared guiltless, but he was unpopular, detested as an overcharging tradesman, and oppressor of the people, and the poor woman found friends. Among others, her cause was taken up by a young man of the name of Storey, who lived in her house, and cherished some animosity against Keague. The suit was renewed, Keague was again pronounced

* However, the assistants, with the governor at their head, remained sole possessors of authority in the periods between the several sittings, and constituted the council which assembled regularly twice a week.

free, but this time he brought in a suit against Storey and the slanderers, and £20 damages from each were adjudged to him. But Storey did not rest. Many years passed away on this matter; he found new witnesses, and the suit was at last brought before the general assembly. Here it oc- 1642
casioned fresh disputes about the negative voice of the magistrates, the majority of whom decided for Keague's innocence, while the majority of the deputies decided for the complainant. The affair had become a people's matter; the sympathies of all the people were enlisted in it. A dangerous excitement raged in all the townships of the colony; Keague was Wilson's brother-in-law, his son was married to Dudley's daughter; he was rich; this was enough to waken suspicion against him; his dishonesty as a tradesman was sufficient evidence of his guilt. In the following year a fresh exami- 1643
nation was proposed and granted, in order to quiet the people; the result was the same, only that Keague was ordered to give up the damages. The elders, and especially Winthrop, who carefully explained the matter, appeased and soothed the people by writings of various kind. Throughout the whole contest the struggle was for the veto, and, in 1644, the above-mentioned separation into two chambers, by which the government showed itself conceding, the people victorious, was the immediate result of this event, equally vulgar and unimportant.

The very few aristocratic elements which were still in the constitution of Massachusetts were again destined to sustain a struggle with the more powerful democratic principles, until they were quite incorporated with them

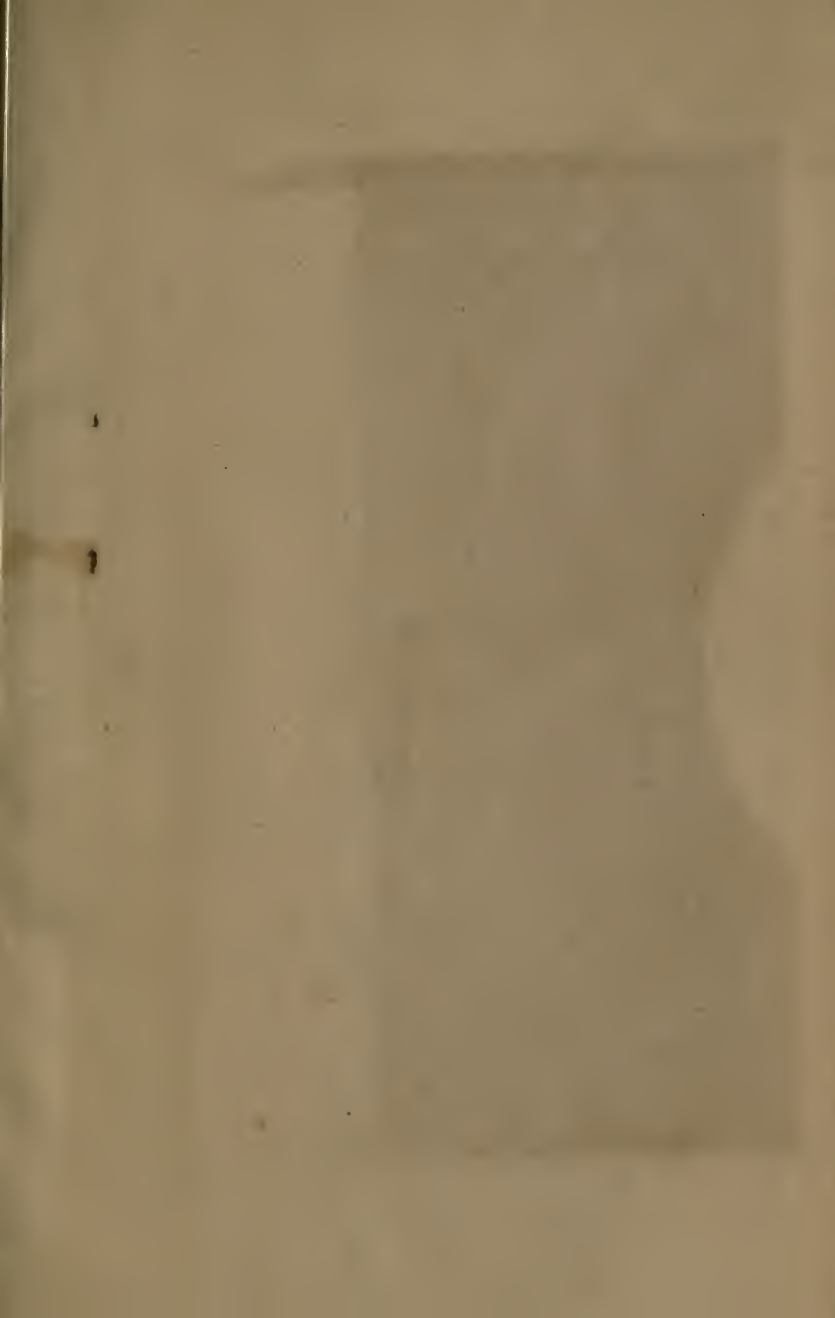
1645 and lost sight of. In Hingham, a little town on the south of the Bay, collisions had taken place on the occasion of electing the officers, and the authorities had been compelled to interfere. The complaint directed against abuse of right and arbitrary power, especially by Winthrop, who was then governor, was handed in to the general court by a number of men from Hingham, and supported openly as well as secretly by the deputies. Winthrop, although the other officials did not wish to have such a degradation, entered the lists in court; he urged examination, conducted his cause with calmness and dignity, and was honourably acquitted. According to his own confession, he wished to have an opportunity of bringing this subject of constant dissension under debate, and to enlighten the deputies on true freedom. He did not consider it a degradation, but an honour, to be so selected from his brethren to defend so just and weighty a cause. For this time also the greater number of deputies had made common cause with the discontented, and represented the freedom of the people as in danger.

He took occasion to lay down, in a short speech, his views as to the reciprocal position of the subject, and elected authority, and also especially on civic freedom, which he regarded as one with moral freedom, and reduced to the liberty of doing well and rightly. The true relation of the people to the elected authority was, according to him, to be compared with that of a wife to her husband, whom she had chosen of her own free will, who becomes her master by her choice, and to whom she cheerfully submits, or to that of the church towards Christ, whose yoke is light and pleasant, like

the ornaments of a bride, &c. This speech bears throughout the impress of the times, as well in its hard features, scriptural images, as in its monkish allusions to the heavenly bridegroom and his embraces, &c., and may be regarded as a complete mirror of the opinions of the Christian aristocracy of that period, who were republican enough to lay more weight on the elected authority than on the inherited, installed by God. The speech made a favourable impression on the court. The Hingham mischief-brewers, about a hundred in number, were punished with heavy fines, and Winthrop's authority was so little sunk, that 1646 he was next year elected governor, and so on every year till his death ; but the government soon after gave up more rights, and restricted their real power to the military elections. This appears to have been the last struggle between the government officials and the deputies.

END OF VOL. I.







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